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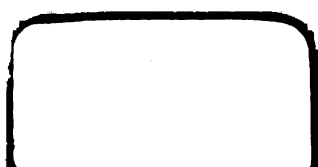
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THE LIFE
OF
THOMAS WENTWORTH.

THE LIFE
OF
THOMAS WENTWORTH,
EARL OF STRAFFORD
AND
LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

BY
ELIZABETH COOPER,
AUTHOR OF LIFE OF "ARABELLA STUART," "POPULAR HISTORY OF
AMERICA," ETC., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

~~VOL. I.~~

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TINSLEY BROTHERS, 8, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.

1874.

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THE WAR
1891
1892

Dedication

TO

EDWARD LANE, Esq., M.A., M.D.

DEAR SIR,

It is now more than five years since the writer came to you for professional advice. The hopeless victim of a neglected and torturing malady, she sought rather to smooth the path to death than for any road to recovery. But under your roof, where so many have regained their perfect health, and others alleviation of mortal disease, new possibilities were waiting. There, for long months, to the supply of every material need of an invalid, were added that boundless sympathy, patience, and comprehension which stamp the real physician, and which so many, of the literary race especially, have received at your hands.

And, as it is solely owing to your care that the following work became possible, let it remain to your family, your household, and yourself a memorial, however unworthy, of the entire gratitude, appreciation, and esteem of,

Dear Sir,

Your Friend and Servant,

ELIZABETH COOPER.

SUDBROOK PARK,
March 1, 1874.



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NOTE.—As the Irish Records are at present uncalendered, it has been impossible to refer to page and volume, as in other cases. But the MS. cited can always be found by means of the date.

THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS WENTWORTH.

CHAPTER I.

AMONG all the forms that people the kingdom of the 1593.
past, none is more solemn and impressive than that of
Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford.

The representative of a long line of noble ancestors, the heir to a broad estate, the possessor of matchless powers of mind, accompanied by the most intense and passionate feelings, and living at a time when, of all others, the utmost scope was afforded for the exercise of intellect, when England called on her sons as she had never called before, he seemed armed by Nature herself for a successful career.

Thomas Wentworth was born on Good Friday, on the 13th of April, 1593, in Chancery Lane, London.

That he was brought into the world in this obscure neighbourhood, rather than in the home of his ancestors, was owing to the fact of his maternal grandfather, Robert Atkinson, Esq., being a barrister, and

1593. Lady Wentworth on a visit to her father at the time of the birth of her eldest son.

His father, Sir William Wentworth, was a gentleman of Yorkshire, who had held his estate of Wentworth Woodhouse from the days of the Saxons; and himself the head of the house of Wentworth, was allied by blood to many noble families, who, springing from the same root, with pride acknowledged him as their chief.

The family of Wentworth had always held public offices in England, and among its members, we find a lord chancellor, a bishop, many high sheriffs of the county of York, members of parliament, officers in the army, a master of the king's household, &c. Hitherto the race had lived in rare prosperity, escaping the fearful calamities entailed by the civil wars and the jealousies of different monarchs on the noble houses of England.

Even Henry VIII., certainly not remarkable for his consideration of others, vouchsafed a special act of grace and humanity to Thomas Wentworth, the great-great-grandfather of the present subject, by licensing him always to keep his head covered in the royal presence on account of a necessity of health.*

Besides their direct line of ancestry, the Wentworths, allied by early marriages, claimed kindred with the highest blood in the realm, not excluding that of royalty itself. John of Gaunt and Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, the grandmother of Henry VII., joined their streams to the same fountain. If, in truth, high lineage could stamp a human being, here was enough.

* Appendix to the Strafford Papers, vol. ii.

N.B.—All references, *when no name is given*, are to the printed collections of the Strafford Papers.

But all these names are faded and forgotten in the mighty individuality of their descendant. 1593.

The eldest of their twelve children, the parents of Wentworth were careful to have him educated in all the accomplishments of a finished gentleman of rank.

At St. John's College, Cambridge, he eagerly seconded the desires of his friends; and by the aid of a tutor whom he profoundly revered, as well as by various original plans of his own, he soon laid the foundation of his future reputation.

Besides the usual course of study, he made it a practice to read with critical attention the best authors in French, Latin, and English, with a view to style; to which he added the habit of attending the lectures of the most eloquent masters of speech, both in the pulpit and on secular subjects. He was also accustomed to take some celebrated treatise, and, before reading it, to compose an original paper on the same subject, and afterwards to compare and correct his own by means of that of the author. Not the most insignificant epistle left his pen carelessly expressed or written; and hence his speedy and perfect mastership of his native language, which in his service became all things, from the most terrible weapon of war to the subtlest instrument of logic; a quiver whence he drew the bright glancing arrows of wit; a rich garden that supplied him with the softest and noblest flowers of beauty, and honour, and affection.

To his favourite studies of history and poetry he added that of law, gaining his knowledge not by books alone, but by close attendance on the courts of justice, and especially on the Star Chamber, where, solely to learn practically as well as theoretically, he went regu-

1593. larly for seven years together, and with such a result that, we are told, one of the judges of assize, himself a good lawyer, "was well pleased" to learn the opinion of Wentworth about the poor law.

Besides the usual knowledge of arms, essential to every young gentleman of that period, he made himself acquainted with the details of management connected with the needs of an army, such as the costs, the commissariat, and those departments generally left to be learnt familiarly by the special officers alone. In short, whatever Wentworth learned, he learned well; and to no human being was a word so entirely applicable as a word which, good in itself, became afterwards invested with a fatal meaning when connected with his name—the famous "*Thorough*."

As soon as he had completed his college studies, at the age of eighteen, he set out for a tour on the continent.*

On this tour he was accompanied by his tutor, the Rev. Charles Greenwood, fellow of University College, Oxford. This gentleman was one of the select few who, during the whole of his life, enjoyed the unchanging, unalloyed affection and esteem of his pupil. It is when he speaks to or of his tutor, that we first recognise in Wentworth that intense feeling of reverence which, although rarely excited, nevertheless, was one of his noblest qualities.

Few things may be better worth the study of a young man of the present day, than to contemplate the bearing of the greatest intellect among all the aristocracy of England towards his tutor, as well as his grateful memory of him in after-times.

* Radcliffe's Essay.

In recommending Mr. Greenwood's services to his nephew, some years later, he says:— 1611.

"If you use him not most respectfully, you deal extremely ungrateful with him and ill to yourself. He was the man your father loved and trusted above all men, and did as faithfully discharge the trust reposed in him as ever in my time I knew any man do for his dead friend, taking excessive pains in settling your estate with all possible cheerfulness, *without charge to you at all*. His advice will be always upright, and you may safely pour your secrets into him; which, by that time you have conversed a little more abroad in the world, you will find to be the greatest and noblest treasure this world can make any man owner of. And I protest to God, were I in your place, I would think him the greatest and best riches I did or could possess."

And writing to Mr. Greenwood himself, asking him to overlook some domestic matters, he declares:—

"You cannot lend your help to any that loves you better, or that will be more ready to minister to the occasions, either of you or your friends, as often as you shall require it of me, than myself. Out of your charity, you would not deny your help to him that upon a good occasion would not deny his life to you."

These expressions are by no means an empty form, but the genuine language of a heart that will be found, during the whole course of life, to lay bare its affections to its objects, never dreaming of reserve by word or deed to those it truly loved.

I have spoken of these striking parts of Wentworth's character, here, rather than at the end of his life, where they might seem more appropriate in a summary of

1611. the whole. But this intensity of feeling, demanding relief in energy of action, it was that too early precipitated him into a region whose atmosphere was one of perilous uncertainty to all who, like him, were utterly foreign to it, or had not been carefully trained to comprehend and meet its variations.

Fourteen months were spent in travel on the continent with Mr. Greenwood, and it was during this tour that Wentworth made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton, then English ambassador at Venice, and a man who, while of a very opposite temperament, was yet highly congenial on account of his literary tastes, his mellow wit, and bright imagination. Afterwards, we find him corresponding with his young friend, and sending him books, receiving in return the news of the day.

On the completion of his youthful studies, Wentworth received knighthood from King James, and immediately after, he married the Lady Margaret Clifford, eldest daughter of Francis, Earl of Cumberland.

In 1614, his father died, and Wentworth succeeded as head of the family.

In the same year, also, died Sir George Savile, the brother-in-law of Wentworth, having married his eldest sister, Ann. Sir George left two sons, of whom he appointed their maternal uncle the guardian.

With this year, therefore, terminated for Wentworth that happy period of youth, when the past is a volume of joyous and innocent records, the future a world of radiant hopes, of high ambitions, of whose fulfilment and absolute realisation he indeed were an infidel to doubt.

CHAPTER II.

By a singular coincidence, Sir Thomas Wentworth succeeded to the family honours in the very year of his majority. 1614.

At the age of twenty-one, he found himself the head of an illustrious house, with an estate that furnished him ample means to maintain his position with appropriate splendour, and dispense that hospitality now, alas! one of the departed glories of England. The appointed protector of his numerous brothers and sisters, as well as of his two nephews, and himself a married man, it might be supposed that, till relieved of some of these responsibilities, he would scarcely choose to add to his labours by any of the cares of public life. From this, too, another reason might have well excused him. Tall, and graced with manly dignity by nature, already his frame began to manifest its inequality to the mind that needed a more than ordinary support. With the very dawn of manhood fell the shadow of decay. His dark-complexioned countenance, stamped with a power that attracted all who gazed upon it, too often paled with suffering; his broad forehead contracted with silent endurance; his raven hair early blended with grey.

Ill health was the first of Wentworth's misfortunes;

1614-33. and, to a nervous system, awake to the faintest impression, a misfortune whose effects are found in little-dreamed-of consequences. The first duties that he was called on to fulfil were those of guardian to his nephews, and most zealously did he perform them. He watched his wards, from childhood till they arrived at man's estate, with all the care of the most tender parent, consulting with his former tutor and most esteemed friend, Mr. Greenwood, on all that related to their education and property; and, the latter being involved in a law-suit, for eight years he personally attended the courts where their suit was heard,* and made no less than thirty journeys to London on the same account. All this was accomplished as an act of kindness towards two orphan children, without the least recompense or reward to himself.

Nor, when his legal term of office was over, and the young Saviles had arrived at years of discretion, did he show less anxiety that they should continue to prosper. He gave them the best advice, both for their worldly and spiritual affairs, and, as we have seen, endeavoured to secure for them an abiding friend in Mr. Greenwood.

A similar course was pursued towards his brothers, and no opportunity was lost of placing them advantageously according to their several professions; while, as in the case of the Saviles, he manifested that rare and precious interest which led him to spend many hours and much labour in minute investigations relating to their property, &c., in order to understand the exact state of their affairs, so as to arrange them to the best advantage and equally, without self-

* Radcliffe's Essay.

reward. Of his own estate he was a careful steward. 1614.
Of no single thing, however insignificant, relating to it did he fail to make himself acquainted. He held the opinion that each possessor was bound to improve his lands to the utmost of his power, and expressed himself in rather a disappointed tone when he found that his father had only left his property increased in value by £200 a-year. He always sought for the advice of the most skilful men in each department, and carefully consulted with them before making any alteration or entering upon any new undertaking. But, a plan once formed, nothing was allowed to interfere with its development.

Thus did he commence his private tasks in the first year of his authority at Wentworth Woodhouse. But he was not destined to pass his life as a country gentleman. He now entered the Parliament of 1614, and served as Knight of the Shire for Yorkshire. He has been blamed for being one of the silent members of the House during this year; but it must be remembered that he was young and inexperienced, and that his maxim was that of diligence in preference to haste. He followed the advice that he later gave to his nephew: "Till such time as experience hath ripened your judgment, it shall be great wisdom and advantage to distrust yourself and to fortify your youth by the counsel of your more aged friends before you undertake anything of consequence. It was the course that I governed myself by after my father's death," &c.

And this first year, when we consider his other cares, was well spent in listening to older men, and thinking on the state of politics, without venturing

1614-15. upon action in matters where he was still diffident and uncertain. Parliament over, he returned to Yorkshire, employing himself in the management of his estate, and amusing himself with country sports.

An opening soon occurred to bring him again into public life.

The Keeper of the Records for the West Riding of Yorkshire was Sir John Savile, an old man, who, after serving forty years under Queen Elizabeth, had now the misfortune to give great dissatisfaction in the fulfilment of his office. What were his special offences I have not been able to discover.* His "disorderly and passionate carriage"† are spoken of in general terms; and among those who condemn and complain of him are the Earl of Sheffield and Sir Thomas Fairfax.‡ Whether guilty or innocent, he himself deemed it wisest to resign his office;§ and, being allowed to nominate his successor—a permission which speaks loudly in his favour—he, "out of his love," named Sir Thomas Wentworth.

Wentworth accepted the office, and fulfilled it for two years apparently to the general satisfaction, when, to his great astonishment, he received a curt note from the King's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, stating that the King having now received Sir John Savile into favour again, and he having desired to resume his former office, Wentworth would do well to resign it, especially as Savile had voluntarily given it up.

* I have reason to believe that a solution of this question is to be found in the unpublished Fortescue MSS., of which I was, unfortunately, unable to obtain the perusal.—E. C.

† Letter of Th. Ellesmere, i., p. 3.

‡ Letter of Lord Sheffield, i., p. 2.

§ Letter of Sir J. Savile, i., p. 1.

If Buckingham expected the facile obedience implied in his note, he was speedily undeceived. Wentworth declined to give up the office, stating that Savile had indeed resigned it, but only to prevent an ignominious expulsion; and placed the matter in so impressive a manner before Buckingham, that the latter not only withdrew his request but apologised for making it. And this was the first public victory of Wentworth. 1621.

From 1614 to 1621, no Parliament was called, and the leisure was valuable to Wentworth in all respects, especially for the interests of his young relatives. In the spring of 1620, we find him writing to Sir Henry Wotton, at Venice, on behalf of his brother John, now on his travels; and it is a pleasant testimony of friendship that the elder brother beseeches Sir Henry to take a special interest in John, as belonging to one who so truly honoured him.

We shall soon find John followed by a younger scion, still guarded into active life by the same fraternal solicitude.

In 1621, a new Parliament was summoned. For the second time, Wentworth was invited to become the candidate for Yorkshire, in conjunction with Sir George Calvert, the Secretary of State, and a great friend of his. They were opposed by Sir John Savile, the ex-Keeper of the Records, who, despairing of a successful strife with Wentworth, bent all his opposition against Calvert. Wentworth eagerly espoused the cause of the latter. The usual electioneering arts were put in practice on both sides, and it is here that we meet with the first painful instance in Wentworth of an appeal to power to bear down the claims of justice.

1621. Writing to Calvert, he says: "My Lord President* hath writ to his freeholders on your behalf; and seeing he will be in town on the election, it were, I think, very good he would be pleased to show himself for you in the Castle Yard, and that you writ unto him a few lines, taking notice you hear of some opposition, and therefore desire his presence might secure you of fair carriage in the choice. I have heard that when Sir Francis Darcy opposed Sir Thomas Lake in a matter of like nature, the Lords of the Council writ to Sir Francis to desist. I know my Lord Chancellor is very sensible of you in this business; *a word to him and such a letter would make an end of all.*"

The influence of Calvert was insignificant in Yorkshire; and Savile took care to insinuate, by means of his agents, that the former, not being a resident in the county, could not be chosen, as well as that his office in the State rendered him unsafe. But Wentworth soon overcame. He sent out invitations to a dinner-party for Christmas Day—the very day of the election—and took good care that all who promised their votes should put their promise in black and white in a list of names that admitted of no withdrawal. Though confident of his own election, he deemed it wise, for Calvert's sake, to secure it first, in order that he might be able to apply all the accompanying influence in behalf of Calvert, who was thus the more heartily returned; while the feud engendered by Wentworth's refusal to cede his office was now confirmed and transmitted to the son of Savile.

On the 30th of January, the new Parliament was

* Lord Sheffield, President of the Council of the North.

opened. Though Sir Thomas Wentworth still re-^{1622.}mained in the background, his voice was heard oftener than before, and a few echoes have reached us that are not unworthy of attention. Thus, on the 15th of February, a Bill for Keeping the Sabbath was read for the second time, and commented on with the most sneering contempt by a Mr. Sheppard.

But Wentworth at once rose, and declared the bill was traduced and misrepresented, and, being supported by Pym and others, his words had the effect of bringing the former to the bar of the House, there to be deprived of his seat, as unworthy to serve in Parliament.

When the King attempted to stop proceedings by a forced adjournment, Wentworth urged the members to work harder and more quickly in the time left, so that the most important bills might be carried, however short the time.* And, on the re-assembling of the Parliament, in the prospect of a similar curtailment, he moved that no member leave town till the session was ended.†

On the 6th of January, 1622, the Parliament was dissolved. True to the position Wentworth still deemed it prudent to maintain, he speaks of himself merely as a "bystander." And, with the freedom of a mere bystander to comment on proceedings, he says to a friend: "I cannot think a thought of it but with grief;" and he looks on the dissolution of so hopeful a Parliament as a "disaster."

It had, indeed, proved a disaster to him in a very different way. On account of attending its sittings, he had removed with his family to Austinfriars, in Lon-

* Parliamentary Debates, i., 1277.

† Ibid, i., 1345.

1622. don. A family accustomed to the pure air of Yorkshire and exercised in all the bracing sports of the country, encountered a danger by removing to London, scarcely to be conceived in the present day. While the country, less blocked by provincial towns than in modern times, was far more delightful in its wild beauty than ever, London was a very head-quarters of disease. The miserable ignorance of the laws of health, which signalised the physicians, told heavily on the populace of cities. The metropolis was innocent of drains or scavengers; the rush-covered floors served as convenient receptacles for hand rubbish and refuse whose evil was supposed to consist only in the appearance of disorder, and, consequently, out of sight was out of mischief. In the street, pools of stagnant water and decayed heaps of vegetable and animal matter sent forth the air of poison and death. The plague kept an ever-inhabited town-house. The small-pox, besides the thousands that it laid in the grave, stamped such numbers with its terrible seal that all who could boast absolute freedom from its hand were entitled to the claim of good looks. Consumption, fever, and, above all, ague, chiefly dwelt on the banks of the river, and formed the most fearful scourge to the poor prisoners in the Tower.

The delicate frame of Wentworth offered an inviting prey. In the summer of 1622 he was seized with a dreadful fever, which seems to have hung about him till the next spring, when it was followed by one of those agues whose elaborate description occurs in nearly every biography of this period. But, as is so frequently the case, the sickly and frail constitution weathered the attack, while the healthy and unpre-

pared succumbed. Wentworth's wife, Lady Margaret, ¹⁶²² died of the same fever from which her husband had sufficiently recovered to seek a change of air at Bow.

Lady Margaret left no children ; and, though her husband lived with her eleven years, and, long after her death, spoke of her as "one of the rarest ladies of her time," yet the few letters of his of this period that have reached us rarely include her name, and give us no insight into her character.

After her death, Wentworth retired to Yorkshire for a time. But he continued his close attention to politics, watching the course of events at home and abroad, and before the year was out, we find him again in the metropolis. What was his object there is not clear ; but that he was in the service of King James is pretty evident from the following peremptory despatch :

"Whereas Sir Thomas Wentworth is to make his present repair to the city of York and back again about his Majesty's special affairs. These are, therefore, to will and require you that, after the sight hereof, you furnish, or cause him to be furnished, with four able and sufficient post-horses, as a guide for his better expedition in that behalf, paying for them according to the usual rate. Whereof see you fail not, as you will answer the contrary at your peril.

"Dated at Whitehall, the 22nd of December, 1622.

"CHARLES STANHOPE.

"To all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs,
posts, constables, and all other
his Majesty's officers to whom
it shall or may appertain." *

* State Papers, James I., Dom. 1622, December 22, MS.

1623.

It is to be hoped that he had finished these "special affairs," for, early in the new year, he was again warned of the air of London by "a double tertian," and, after an apparent recovery, "a relapse into a single tertian, and, a while after, a burning fever."*

Nothing but his native Yorkshire seems to have had any lasting good effect; and, as soon as he could travel, he returned to Wentworth Woodhouse. There, he said, his "objects and thoughts were limited to looking upon a tulip, hearing a bird sing, a rivulet murmur, or some such pretty and innocent pastime." He said that he recovered more in one day in the open country air than in a fortnight in London, which he described as "smothering."

This craving for fresh air was constitutional in him; and, when deprived of it, his body was not the only sufferer.

His brothers' interests still occupied him, and he lost no opportunity of turning his increasing connection to their advantage.

Thus, after twice being disappointed of an audience of Sir Edward Sackville, he writes to thank him for obtaining a commission in the army for one of his brothers, and assures him that the young officer "will approve himself honest in your command, and as freely lay down his life in your service as the meanest soldier in the company."

Wentworth, who, both in regard to his nephews and brothers, was extremely particular about appearances, undertakes to see both his brother and his troop "furnished in such a manner as shall be suitable with others of his rank."

* Radcliffe's Essay.

In the Parliament of 1624, the last held by James, 1624.
Wentworth sat, in conjunction with Sir Henry Holcroft, for Pontefract. A third time, he pursued his plan of listening rather than speaking; and, indeed, it shows a wonderful faith in his constituents to elect a man who, at such a time, enacted so apparently useless a part.

He expressed his private opinion to his brother-in-law, that the path of politics was "more narrow and slippery than ever, yet not so difficult but that it might be passed with circumspection, patience, and, principally, silence."* This silence on his part has been ascribed to selfishness. But the charge seems unjust. As yet, his opinions appear to have been undecided; and, if he found he had not knowledge and experience enough to speak to purpose, it was better, and in accordance with his dislike of precipitance, to wait. We shall find that when he did speak, after this long silence, it was in a matter and on such a side as could not be charged with selfishness.

* Letter to Lord Clifford 1, 19.

CHAPTER III.

1625.

It is with the reign of Charles I. that the political career of Wentworth really begins. Up to this period, all was preliminary. From his previous acts and words, none could predict his future course,—probably, he himself had as yet no fixed plan of action.

Taking into consideration his personal character and the manner in which he had fulfilled those duties that had so early fallen to his lot, very much was naturally to be expected of him. He had proved himself zealous in the performance of whatever he had undertaken. At the age of thirty-two, he had secured a character for strong domestic affections, ardour in friendship, order in the management of his affairs, justice to his tenants, unceasing industry in the disposal of his time, and strict conformity to the ordinances of the established religion.

As yet, he had shown no strong political bias. But the rigid manner in which he ordered his household, the strict attention he exacted to outward forms, and the regard he insisted on as necessary to be paid to appearances, were all in accordance with the aristocratical spirit in which he had been educated.

Though James I. is spoken of as having regarded him with favour, it may be safely maintained that any

intimacy between them would have been impossible. The subject could not have stooped to the familiarity of the King,—the King would never have ventured to address the subject by such diminutives as set him at his ease with “Steenie.”

1625.

And the impression of royalty left by James may have had more to do with the reception of the first acts of his successor by a formal aristocrat than is generally dreamed of. It might have been better for himself and the country, had Charles inherited the manners and appearance as well as the principles of his father.

With the death of James terminated the first peaceful portion of Wentworth's life. As if more sharply to define the new era, his private, as well as his public career, seemed to re-commence. On the 24th of February, 1625, he married his second wife, the Lady Arabella Hollis, daughter of the Earl of Clare, and described by Radcliffe as “a lady exceeding comely and beautiful, and yet much more lovely in the endowments of her mind.”

On the writs being issued for the first Parliament of Charles, Wentworth desired to be re-elected for Pontefract, but renounced this intention for the greater honour of representing York. In this, he was opposed by Sir John Savile, son of the ex-Keeper of the Records, who, being defeated by Wentworth, declared the latter had gained his seat illegally, and demanded a new election. Savile was supported by Sir John Eliot, one of the purest-minded and most patriotic of all the Commons. A new election was ordered, and Wentworth was again returned. But the opposition of Eliot is supposed to have left a

1625. rankling feeling in the heart of the successful member that told painfully in after times.

The second return of Wentworth made a deep impression. It showed that though so silent in Parliament, his influence was great. His talents and pertinacity in never forsaking an aim, also began to be appreciated. He was evidently a man not to be disregarded, and one whom it would be better to have for a friend than an enemy.

The first Parliament of Charles assembled at Westminster on the 10th of June, 1625. Both King and Parliament regarded each other with mutual distrust. On the King's side was a debt of 700,000*l.*, inherited from his father, in addition to heavy deficiencies of his own; a Roman Catholic wife with a long train of priests; a mismanaged attempt at war in behalf of the Protestant Elector Palatine of Bohemia, the sole results of which had, hitherto, been to raise false hopes in the German Protestants, to squander the money advanced by the Parliament, and to waste a fine body of English troops. A far more dangerous inheritance was the belief in the divine right of kings and a contempt for the human rights of the people, a resolution to reign independently of Parliaments and establish a despotism in England.

Many honestly shared these fatal opinions. An intense, unreasoning loyalty to monarchy has always been a characteristic of a large minority of the English people; and these ideas were confirmed in Charles by a band of selfish flatterers who fawned on him for their private interests alone. They had reaped a rich harvest in the time of his wretched father, whose taste for tyranny was gorged, not satisfied, by the sacrifice of the noblest victims. That the English, unmoved,

had heard the frantic cries of Arabella Stuart, and seen the blood of Raleigh gush, was almost enough to persuade Charles that he might follow a like example with safety. 1625.

But another race of men had been born—men who felt that the hour had struck when a new order must rise to life, or England roll back for centuries.

Charles commenced his reign with an act which was of bad omen, but one that had its uses in putting the anxious watchers of their country's welfare on their guard. Delaying to meet his Parliament, on account of waiting the arrival of his newly betrothed wife, Henrietta Maria of France, he issued warrants for raising troops for the war in the Palatinate on his sole authority. And to pay their expenses, he levied a tax on the people, which he called "coat and conduct money," for the dress and travelling costs of the soldiers, promising that it should be repaid out of the exchequer. This alone was sufficient to check all confidence; and, when he demanded supplies in Parliament, only two subsidies were voted, equal to 140,000*l.*, a sum very inadequate to his demands,—while the duties of tonnage and poundage, hitherto granted the King for life, were limited to two years. The last bill was thrown out by the Lords; and the disputes were running high when the plague, which had broken out in a more alarming degree than usual, drove away so many of the members that Parliament was adjourned till the 1st of August, when it was to meet at Oxford.

During the recess, the King resumed the unlawful demand of coat and conduct money; and the failure of a naval expedition which had been sent to aid the Protestants of Rochelle, and was suspected of having been treacherously diverted in favour of the Catholics,

1625. increased the gloom with which the Parliament met at Oxford.

The chief object of public anger was the favourite of the King,—the notorious George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Without talent, industry, or conscience, with nothing but an effeminately handsome face and an extravagant foppery of dress to recommend him, the late king had showered on this man the most lucrative offices, and made him the bosom companion of his son. On succeeding to the throne, Charles continued his father's favours, and followed his lead on every subject. "Steenie,"—such was Buckingham's pet name,—exulted in the offices and revenues of Lord High Admiral of England (the great Lord Howard, the victor over the Armada, having been pensioned off to make room for him!), Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Justice in Eyre of all the parks and forests south of the Trent, Master of the King's Bench Office, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle. Of all these, the one for which he was most palpably unfit was that of admiral; and signs began to manifest themselves that the discontent of the people, "at the multiplicity of offices in one man," was likely to be shown in stronger ways than words. Buckingham became greatly alarmed. Especially he feared Wentworth. The King had already regarded the latter with a favourable eye; and Buckingham had found, in the matter of Sir John Savile and the case of the Records, that Wentworth was not a man to be attacked with impunity. His first plan, therefore, was to disarm Wentworth of any lingering resentment, and prevent him from lending his weight to the hostile members in the Parliament. With seem-

ing frankness, he begged the good offices of Wentworth, and received a reply that the latter would be ready "to serve him in the quality of an honest man and a gentleman." *

1625.

And Wentworth verified his words by remaining silent when matters were so fast verging on an impeachment of Buckingham that, in order to prevent it, the King hastily dissolved Parliament only twelve days after the meeting at Oxford.

Buckingham expressed his gratitude to Wentworth, begged him to accept his friendship, and let all former mistakes be laid asleep and forgotten.

How high was the position of the favourite at court, may be seen from the fact that the proud, high-born Wentworth thought it no degradation "to receive his commands to kiss his grace's hands" † on leaving town. Fully believing in the sincerity of his grace, who gave him all the good words and good usage which could be expected, he departed "with a great deal of content and full security."

He soon found out its value.

The King's necessities could not wait, and he perceived the only chance of a sufficient supply lay in calling another Parliament. But, fearing a similar result to the last, Buckingham resolved to thwart his enemies by a legal and ingenious plan. According to the ancient laws of England, every man was obliged to accept a civil office if called on by the King. Some of these offices precluded the holders from serving in Parliament, and among them was that of sheriff. Buckingham, therefore, continued to have the members he most distrusted, and who kept his jealous fears on

* Sir Thomas Wentworth to Sir Richard Weston 1, 34.

† Letter to Weston 1, 35.

1625. the rack, appointed sheriffs by the King. The victims of the unwelcome honour were Sir Edward Coke, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Guy Palmer, Mr. Edward Alford, Sir William Fleetwood, and, to his profound disgust and astonishment, Sir Thomas Wentworth.

He had, indeed, reason to be bewildered. Buckingham was now in Holland; but, before his departure, he had endeavoured by every means to convince Wentworth of his gratitude and his friendly feelings. Not the slightest intimation had been given of this clever plan, and, in truth, such shameless duplicity appeared incredible. At one time, Wentworth could not believe it; at another, it seemed as if he had been used as a tool, and then thrown scornfully away. His anger and mortification overflowed in letters to his friends, who dreaded lest, in a moment of revenge, he should ruin his whole future career. Reports were spread that some of the other sheriffs had taken counsel on the matter, and found they could still claim their seats on the ground of a summons from parliament, provided they were elected for any place out of their own county. And a proposal was made by Sir Francis Seymour that Wentworth should procure him a seat for a town in the north, and he would repay it by getting Wentworth one in the west, and thus they might defeat the duke and take full vengeance on him in the next Parliament. The impulses of Wentworth would have led him eagerly to close with this scheme, but he had early learned to curb his desires when they interfered with his judgment, and his friends, with one accord, dissuaded him from resistance.

The question was exceedingly difficult. The law was on the King's side. And so long had the people

been accustomed to yield, in matters not vital, to the King, even when he acted in defiance of the law, that it was scarcely to be expected they would uphold a man in opposing him when he had its sanction. And Sir Edward Coke, who really was elected for a new borough, deemed it unsafe to make use of this mark of popular favour, and never took his seat in the Parliament of 1626, after all. The submission of Wentworth was, therefore, perhaps, the wisest course in this case. 1625.

But the mystery was, after all, cleared up fully to Wentworth's satisfaction—at least for the time. When Buckingham heard of the appointments, he most earnestly assured Wentworth that he was not to blame, and that the appointment of sheriff was made entirely without his knowledge after he had left England for Holland. How true this is, we cannot say; but it is certain that the duke was in other things accused of falsehood and deception of which modern discoveries have proved him innocent. A man's own word certainly ought to be taken into consideration in matters concerning which he must know better than other human beings; and, as there is no proof against the duke here—nothing but the assertions of his enemies—he very likely spoke the truth.

At any rate, Wentworth believed him, and trusted him more than before.

And, here, a letter to which no allusion is made by any of the writers in the Strafford despatches, or indeed elsewhere, and which is now published for the first time, throws a new light on Wentworth's opening career.

Hitherto, it has been believed that he was tempted from the popular side by the allurements of honours

1626. from the court. This letter shows that he aspired to the highest post of authority he ever held in England *before* he became a champion of popular liberty, and is most infinitely suggestive, and presents a riddle hard indeed to solve.

Sir Thomas Wentworth was not yet turned thirty-three years of age. As yet, he had no position at the court of Charles ; and, though he had been employed by James, yet certainly in no very great public affair ; he had had no opportunity of proving those transcendent powers of mind that, some years later, might well have rendered him a prize to either party. As yet, he was nothing more than a talented and most industrious and accomplished young man, who had made no figure in Parliament and was scarcely seen at court.

Yet, we have him coolly applying for one of the greatest offices, certainly the one including the greatest power in the kingdom after that of the King. And on whom does he rely for the needful interest ? On Buckingham—Buckingham, who is always represented as his rival, and the great barrier to his fortune. Though it is after the affair of the sheriffdom, he speaks of the duke as of one whose *past* favours he freely acknowledges, and in whose future good-will he firmly trusts.

Did the idea of appointing Wentworth President of the North *first* come from the duke in order to keep him at a safe distance, both from the Parliament and the King, and, at the same time, bind him in such sure bonds of obligation as should blind him to the real motive of his elevation ?

But here is the letter ; the date, according to the fashion of that time of beginning the new year on the

25th of March, would, of course, be January, 1626, of 1626.
our present mode.

*Sir Thomas Wentworth to Secretary Conway.**

MY MUCH HONOURED LORD.—The duties of the place I now hold not admitting my absence out of these parts, I shall be bold to trouble your lordship with a few lines, whereas other ways I would have attended you in person. There is a strong and general belief with us here that my Lord Scroop purposeth to leave the Presidentship of York, whereupon many of my friends have earnestly moved me to use some means to procure it; and I have at last yielded to take it a little into consideration, more to comply with them than out of any violent or inordinate desire thereunto in myself. Yet, as on the one hand I have never thought of it, unless it might be effected with the good liking of my Lord Scroop, so will I never move further in it, till I know also how this suit may please my Lord of Buckingham; seeing indeed such a seal of his gracious good opinion would comfort me much, make the place more acceptable, and that I am fully resolved not to ascend one step of this kind, except I may take along with me by the way a special obligation to my lord duke, from whose bounty and goodness I do not only acknowledge much already, but justified in the truth of my own heart, do still repose and rest under the shadow and protection of his favour. I beseech your lordship, therefore, be pleased to take some good opportunity fully to acquaint his grace herewith, and then to vouchsafe (with your accustomed freedom and nobleness) to give me your

* "State Papers, Charles I., Dom. 18 fol. 110, holograph, MS."

1626. counsel and direction, which I am prepared strictly to observe, as one, albeit, cheerfully embracing better means to do his Majesty humble and faithful service in these parts where I live; yet can with as well a contented mind rest where I am, if, by reason of my many imperfections, I shall not be judged capable of nearer employment and trust.

There is nothing more to add for the present, save that I must rest much bounden unto your lordship for the light I shall borrow from your judgment and affection herein, and so borrow it too as may better enable me more effectually to express myself hereafter,

Your Lordship's most humble and affectionate kinsman to be commanded.

T. WENTWORTH.

Wentworth, this 20th of January, 1625-6.

Sir Edward, afterwards Lord Conway, was an old courtier, and intimate acquaintance of Buckingham. He had been ambassador in Holland, and was now secretary of State. He was an easy, agreeable man, with no claims to anything like greatness of mind, and, at the same time, harmless enough, unless his honest admiration for the splendour of a court be deemed mischievous.

His rather overflown expressions in addressing the nobles with whom he corresponded have been too much dwelt on. And the general reader, who is not a special student of history, may here be cautioned against an error easy enough to incur. What to us might read like the most fulsome language of servility and flattery was nothing more than the form of expres-

sion common to all in that time, and will be found in the letters of the staunchest Puritans as well as in those of the most finished courtiers. This, too, must be remembered in reading the above letter of Wentworth, 1626.

What had occurred to give him this strange confidence in Buckingham, we cannot, with only our present lights, do more than conjecture. Very probably, the records still exist, and will yet see the light, that shall explain the whole. What was this "bounty and goodness?" Did it only consist of promises for the future, or did Sir Thomas Wentworth receive something more than thanks for his silence in the last Parliament? Did "the friends" who suggested to him the application for the Presidency of the North receive their first hint from the duke, and did he require too high a return for Wentworth to pay? Or was he taken by surprise by the bold request, and, looking on the petitioner as a too expensive ally, then and there resolve to show him he was not needed? Had the conduct of Buckingham anything to do with Wentworth's conduct in the next Parliament? These questions are painful in their uncertainty. It is, indeed, quite possible for them all to be answered without any stain on the credit of Wentworth. Deprived of his rightful sphere in Parliament, and impelled by a natural and just impulse to seek another in which his abilities could find a scope, he may simply have taken the usual means of applying for a position open to all, and in his native county, through the influence of the most powerful man at court. If this man had previously promised his aid, there was nothing wrong in now seeking it, provided no disgraceful concessions were made in return. And it is even quite possible that the refusal to make

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such concessions may have been the cause of Wentworth's failure. But all this is as much conjecture as the former, and is only offered to show the other side of the question, and to check the propensity to interpret every suspicious circumstance to the disadvantage of Wentworth, while every good act is without hesitation ascribed to an evil motive. But, however this may be, it is certain that, about this time, Buckingham decided that he could do without Wentworth. All along, he appears to have trifled with him. He certainly disliked him—most probably, at first, was envious of his superior abilities. Perhaps, the willingness shown by Wentworth to meet the duke on friendly terms and lend him aid had really lowered him in the eyes of Buckingham, who thought, with the usual logic of a vulgar mind, that a man who showed him such deference and evidently was deceived by his professions was necessarily inferior to him in ability. And why should he take trouble to win a man not so clever as himself? Perhaps, he had not forgotten his early defeat in the matter of the office of *Custos Rotulorum*, and was stung to think he had yielded without necessity. For a strange matter now happened.

As Wentworth was sitting on the bench to administer justice, the King's writ was suddenly handed up to him, dismissing him from his office of *Custos Rotulorum*, so triumphantly maintained up to this moment. He hastily read the paper, and, unable to contain his feelings, he on the spot informed all present of his dismissal.

He did not stop here, but at once wrote to Sir Robert Weston, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been a witness to Buckingham's false professions

of peace and reconciliation. To him he asserted his innocence of any offence, and besought him to represent his grief and astonishment to the King, and his convictions that he was the victim of some secret slander; and he begged that his fault or defect might be pointed out by his Majesty. 1626.

Wentworth was, indeed, stung to the quick. Not only had he been deprived of his seat in Parliament, and publicly disgraced, but his haughty spirit was yet more galled by the feeling that he had been duped and made a tool of by Buckingham; and, in a letter to a friend,* we see how he chafed in secret. After declaring how he meant to make the best of matters, he breaks out:—"Yet I do lament, lament sadly, the miseries of these times, being reduced to such a prostration of spirit as we are neither able to overcome the exulcerated disease nor to endure a sharp prevalent remedy. Nay, it cuts us to the very heart to hear of either. Nevertheless, our ears are open, it seems, to calumny and detraction amongst ourselves, the proper and inward seeds from whence springs the ruin of states and kingdoms."†

At this time, a desponding melancholy seems to have possessed the mind of Wentworth. His enemies had triumphed, his influence seemed gone, and he was shut out of the only sphere where he had any chance of regaining it. The absolute and hopeless slavery in which Buckingham held the King was confirmed by all, while the youth of the favourite seemed to threaten long years of similar stagnation. Conciliation had proved vain, and Went-

* Strafford Papers, 1, 36.

† Letter to Christopher Wandesforde, 1, 32.

1626. worth's rule was : never to contend with the prerogative out of Parliament, nor yet to contest with the King but when he was constrained by the alternative of utter shipwreck of peace and conscience. Indeed, his loyalty to the name of King verged on superstition, which had been still farther deepened by his birth, his education, and his friends. Yet, circumstances seemed determined to oppose all this, and present the object of his veneration in a form that repelled the loyalty his whole heart impelled him to give, while the incense of inferior suppliants, enemies to himself, was graciously accepted. Did we not recognise this same sentiment inwoven in the very fibres of so many thousands who never were subjected to the thrall of prejudice pampered from birth, and this, even at the present day, when the prestige of monarchy is faded and feeble, a mere spectre of the strong reality it presented to imaginations, otherwise healthy, in the days before the Commonwealth, we could scarcely credit how mighty was the spell thrown by an old tradition round so powerful a mind. A noble monarch, an Alfred, a William of Orange, a prince resolved on utter self-devotion to the goodness and glory of his people ; or, on the other hand, a beloved friend, his peer in intellect, birth, and education, unblinded by aristocratic advantages—such a man as Algernon Sidney—might at this time have been the salvation of Wentworth.

Yet, a little longer, we shall watch the struggles of England to retain the heart of her son, see his good genius with agonizing efforts strive with the spirit of evil for his possession, and hear the voice of liberty rejoicing in him as a champion of her cause.

CHAPTER IV.

On the 6th of February, 1626, Charles opened his 1626.
second Parliament.

I have spoken of the almost superstitious predilection of Wentworth for royalty, and shall be compelled again and again to refer to it, seeing that it was the sentiment that decided the whole course of his life. I refer to it here for a special reason. Like all who have been subjected to a minute scrutiny by their enemies, it has been the fate of Wentworth to be treated as a general scapegoat, and to bear in his single person the special obloquy of what were the almost universal faults of his day. My object at present, therefore, is merely to show that in his idolatry of kings he did but share a disease that infected the whole English nation, and one which it took three generations of Stuarts to prove was not incurable.

Let us remember what kind of a king James I. had been. Let us remember how Charles had dissolved his first Parliament in order to prevent inquiry into the conduct of a wicked favourite, how, in the shape of coat and conduct-money, he had already commenced the practice of procuring supplies independently of his Parliament, and then listen to the following extracts

1626. from the address to the throne of both Houses on the present occasion.

First, in the House of Lords. In the speech delivered in their name by the Lord Keeper Coventry, himself a *protégé* of Buckingham, occur these words:—

“ It behoveth us to magnify and bless God, that hath put the power of assembling parliaments in the hands of him, the virtue (inherent) of whose person doth shine with the greatness of his princely lineage and descent whether he should be accounted *major* or *melior*, a greater King or a better man. And of whom you have had so much trial and experience that he doth as affectionately love as he doth exactly know and understand the true use of parliaments. Witness his daily and unwearied access to this House before his access to the Crown, his gracious readiness in all conferences of importance; his frequent and effectual intercession to his blessed father of never-dying memory for the good of the kingdom, *with so happy success*, that both this and future generations shall feel it, and have cause to rejoice at the success of his Majesty’s intercession.”*

If we now pass to the Commons, we shall find that the foregoing is stern, cold, and literal, compared with their glowing effusion delivered by Sir Heneage Finch, their chosen Speaker, from whose address we may select the following:—

“ We stand for hundreds and thousands, for figures and ciphers as your Majesty, the supreme and sovereign auditor, shall place and value us, and like coin

* Parliamentary History.

to pass are made current by your royal stamp and impression *only*. 1626.

“ We live not under a monarchy only, the best of governments, and under a government the best of monarchies, but under a King the best of monarchs, your royal person; and those eminent graces and virtues which are inherent in your person (in whom greatness and goodness contend for superiority) it were presumption in me to touch, though with never so good a meaning. They will not be bounded within the narrow compass of my discourse, and such pictures of such a King are not to be made in limning, but for public things and actions which the least eye may see and discern; and in them obliquely and by reflection, cheerfully and with comfort, behold your person.

“ What age shall not record and eternize your princely magnanimities in that heroic action of a venturous journey into Spain (!), of hazarding your person to preserve the kingdom?

“ Fathers will tell it to their children in succession. After ages will think it a fable.

“ Your piety to the memory of your dear father, in following and bedewing his hearse with your tears, is full in every man’s memory.

“ You love justice, and your care in the administration of justice, we all behold with comfort, and rejoice to see it. But, above all, and, indeed, it is above all, as far as heaven is distant from the earth, your care and zeal for the advancement of God’s true religion and worship are clearly and fully expressed, and do appear both in your person and by your public acts and edicts,” * &c. &c.

* Parliamentary History, vol. ii., pp. 39, 41.

1626.

What better excuse could be offered by Charles, or rather, what better justification of his previous acts and those of his father, and his resolution to make the past an example to the future, than such language as this?

The men who composed such speeches were the real enemies of Charles. Happy was it for England that a Parliament which could listen to such loathsome falsehoods, insulting to the intellect of the King himself, did, in truth, no more represent the nation than the Parliaments of Henry VIII., and that even of those who were forced to listen to such words, sufficient number remained to show by their acts that they had no part in them. Yet Charles cannot afford to be deprived of the extenuating circumstance that both Houses of his second Parliament thus expressed their entire satisfaction with his kingly and manly virtues.

It has been said that of the members who had been deprived by being made sheriffs, Sir Edward Coke obtained a new seat. One of the King's first acts, therefore, was to send word to the Commons that Sir Edward Coke had been returned Knight of the Shire for Norfolk, he at the time being Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, and to desire that he should be unseated. The matter was referred to a committee, the result of which is not given farther than that the King's word was so far overruled as for Coke to be allowed the privilege of a member *de facto* in a Chancery suit, though he appears to have taken no farther advantage of his election.

The object for which Charles had dissolved the first Parliament and pricked the six sheriffs was so far from being gained, that before the Commons would advance

the supplies for which alone they were called together, they demanded the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham. But notwithstanding the seemingly safe axiom that the King can do no wrong, the King knew too well that, in this instance, a searching inquiry would painfully affect his infallibility, and that too in matters connected with his patriotic journey to Spain. He therefore took the lofty tone assuredly justified by the opening address of the Commons:—

“I must let you know,” said he, “that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place and near unto me. The old question was, ‘What shall be done to the man whom the King will honour?’ But now it hath been the labour of some to seek what may be done against him whom the King thinks fit to honour.

“I can assure you he hath not meddled or done anything concerning the commonwealth, but by special directions and appointment, and as my servant.”

Now, as among the general charges against the Duke were those of buying and selling the great offices of state, squandering the King’s revenue, foisting his own poor relations into lucrative situations, encouraging Popery, and, more than all, being involved in dark suspicions connected with the sudden death of the late King, even the faithful Commons were not disposed to yield. But the King persisted in acting according to their address, and demanding entire submission to his judgment.

Two disloyal members now gave a new cause of offence. One, Sir Clement Coke, son of the Sheriff, muttered audibly that it was better to die by an enemy

1626. than to suffer at home. Another, Dr. Turner, a physician, drew up six heads of accusations against the Duke, and proposed them for examination. This being reported to the King, he at once sent an order to the Commons to punish Coke and Turner for their insolence.

Both of the accused defended themselves from meaning anything but the public good, and Turner, especially, wrote to the Speaker, saying that the six queries he had propounded concerning the Duke were only a few gathered from the common reports of his deeds, or, as he expressed it, from "common fame." On this, a debate took place on the question—"Whether common fame was a ground sufficient for the Commons House of Parliament to proceed upon?"

After a sharp discussion, the question was carried in the affirmative by a large majority, and Coke and Turner consequently left at liberty, while a committee was appointed to prosecute the inquiries into the charges against the Duke. Supplies were also voted to the King, to be paid after he had returned an answer to their grievances.

It may be noted that Christopher Wandesford, one of the most attached friends of Wentworth, was appointed one of the committee against Buckingham.

On hearing the result of his last message, the King hurried to the House of Lords, and, first thanking them for the care of the kingdom, he proceeded, in a very different strain, to the rebellious Commons. By the mouth of the Lord Keeper, he sternly rebuked them for neglecting to censure and punish Coke and Turner; and, passing an unqualified eulogium on

Buckingham, he declared that so pure was the innocence, so unselfish the conduct of that slandered man, that it was evident they were only using his name as a cloak under which to wound the King himself and his father of blessed memory. "It is, therefore," continued the Lord Keeper, "his Majesty's express and final commandment that you yield obedience unto those directions which you have formerly received, and cease this unparliamentary inquisition, and commit unto his Majesty's care, and wisdom, and justice, the future reformation of these things which you suppose to be otherwise than they should be."

1628.

With regard to the conditions of supply, his Majesty scouted the very idea of even looking at the grievances first. Not only a supply, but an increase on the sum named, must be ready for him unconditionally by a fixed day, or the King would not promise they should sit any longer; but if they implicitly obeyed in this matter, then he would let them sit as long as the season allowed.

After a few more words from the Lord Keeper, the King again interposed, and with his own mouth uttered this impressive warning:—

"Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution. Therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." *

By this speech the King had fairly thrown down the gauntlet. But even he saw that he had gone too far, or, more probably, Buckingham warned him. For the next day the latter came to the House with a message

* Parliamentary History.

1626. from the King, withdrawing a fixed day for the supplies, but leaving all else as before.

The Commons, in no way moved, continued their preparations against Buckingham, and finally impeached him of High Treason, requesting the royal warrant to commit him to the Tower, there to await his trial. This the King refused; but, instead, sent Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges thither for using strong expressions against Buckingham, which he persisted were aimed at himself.

But the Commons fiercely resented this breach of the privilege of a member of Parliament, declaring that neither Eliot nor Digges had uttered anything against the King's honour, and in a few days they were released.

But, as if still more to add to his own difficulties, Charles, who had hitherto kept on good terms with the House of Lords, now suddenly roused the whole body of peers by sending to the Tower the Earl of Arundel, for no other crime than that his son had ventured on a marriage with a lady of the house of Lennox, and thus of royal blood.

The peers at once petitioned the King for his release; and after many delays on the King's part, to be followed by new petitions on theirs, they positively refused to transact any business whatever till Arundel was freed, and—like the Commons, whose example in the case of Eliot and Digges had fired them with a sense of emulative right—they found their privileges were fully restored. Charles at last yielded, and Arundel was set at liberty.

But the supplies still failed. Charles found, with not unjust exasperation, that the delightful assurances

of implicit trust and infantine obedience were of no more value than his own coronation oath to govern according to the laws of the realm. Nothing could be more reasonable than his language to the peers who petitioned him on the subject of Arundel, and used the words to which he refers :—

“My lords, I see that in your petition you acknowledge me a King of ‘as much goodness as ever was.’ . . . But in this I observe you contradict yourselves, for, if you believe me to be such as you say I am, you have no reason to mistrust the sincerity of my promises.”

Both Lords and Commons, however, persisted in this same inconsistency. Charles would not yield in redressing grievances before supply, and they would not yield in granting supply before redress. Had he yielded on the one gigantic grievance of Buckingham alone, probably they would have conceded the rest. But this barrier was impassable, and Charles now resolved to put in practice his ominous threat. On the 18th of June, he suddenly dissolved his second Parliament. In vain the whole House of Peers represent to him that the critical state of affairs at home and abroad demanded extra sittings to accomplish even a portion of the business on hand. In vain the Commons prepared a remonstrance to the same effect, giving the minutest explanation of the necessity of the steps that so enraged him. All was useless. To the Lords’ appeal he replied, “No, not a minute.” The remonstrance of the Commons he not only refused to read, but ordered it to be burnt by every one who should possess a copy,—“so that the memory thereof should be utterly abolished, and never give occasion to

1626. his Majesty to renew the remembrance of that which, out of his grace and goodness, he would gladly forget."

And, thus having renounced the aid of his Parliament, nothing remained but for Charles to make the experiment of ruling without one, and see how far he would be supported by the nation at large in a despotic government.

The first thing, of course, was to procure the funds. But it was soon found that the time had not arrived for speaking of Parliaments as abolished, and that the only chance of obtaining money at all lay in allusions to a future Parliament, which was to ratify present acts.

1. Accordingly, an order in council was issued, calling in the portion of the revenue derived from the Customs, but stating that, owing to the fact of Parliament not now sitting, it was needful to defer its formal settlement till the next meeting, though the immediate necessities of the Government would not allow the King to wait for the money till then.

2. Next, a large sum was procured by means of the fines imposed on Jesuits, priests, and Popish subjects who had practised the Roman Catholic rites in defiance of law.

3. The King proclaimed that, for the future, he should secure a revenue by letting the Crown lands in fee-farm, or on terms of service to himself, no matter whether copyhold or not,* of course receiving fee-farm rent.

* Fee-farm rent is a rent-charge issuing out of an estate in fee of at least one-fourth of the value of the lands at the time of its reservation. Copyholders held their lands without being bound to service and in spite of their lord's will. Their deed of right consisted of a copy of the deed of gift entered on the court roll.

4. In a circular letter the nobility and gentry were informed that, on pressing occasions, it had always been the custom to raise contributions on the subject; and, therefore, the King now expected a large and cheerful contribution from them in token of their loyalty. Of the City of London he demanded £100,000 at once. 1626.

5. All the seaport towns were to fit out ships, well armed and provisioned for three months.

6. Lastly, orders under the King's Privy Seal were issued to compel men of all ranks to lend money to the King in proportion to their means.*

Among those to whom a Privy Seal was sent, demanding a compulsory loan of £40 † was Sir Thomas Wentworth.

As to the utter illegality of the King's demand, there could be no shadow of doubt. For while it was quite true that in times of emergency subjects could be called on for loans or gifts, it was equally true that this emergency could only be judged of, and the contributions levied, by the representatives of the people in Parliament. No law was more clearly defined than this, and to keep this law the King had solemnly sworn.

When the mandate arrived at the house of Wentworth, around him gathered the previous band of "friends" and relations that had influenced him in the matter of the sheriffdom. They wrote him timid, mean-spirited letters, warning him of the danger of refusal, and telling him of the punishment that had

* Parliamentary History, Rushworth, i.

† State Papers, Charles I., Dom. 65, fol. 12, MS.

1627. already befallen some who had hesitated in the matter.

It is sad to think that really warm affection should be the source of injury, and add to the mental battle now being fought in the mind of its object.

To increase his difficulties, and still further to turn away his thoughts from the standard of justice and patriotism, and tempt him to rule his decision by mere personal feelings, another of these dangerous friends now informed him that the Privy Seal had been procured to be sent to him by his enemies, in the hope of provoking him to refusal, and thereby ruin himself. He was advised to thwart the malicious purpose by prompt obedience, and to remember that the sum called for would not injure him—and, in any case, he would lose least by producing it.

He was warned that if he persisted in refusing that, he would lose all chance of the least favour at Court, while none would dare to move the King in his behalf, his Majesty's heart "being so inflamed in this business, that he had vowed perpetual memory, as well as perpetual punishment, of all who refused."

It is a grateful task to relate that both persuasions and warnings failed. Wentworth broke through his prejudices, and, doubtless with a heavy heart, in opposition to his warmest affections, which would have led him to please his friends, he refused the loan. He was, in consequence, instantly summoned before the Commissioners of the King at York, in company with others, there to answer for his conduct, and, in answer to the summons, sent the following letter:—

*" Sir Thomas Wentworth to the Commissioners.**

1627.

" May it please you,

" I have to-day received your letter, dated the tenth of this instant, wherein I am required to be with you at York, on Wednesday next. The occasion is, as I perceive, concerning the late loan to his Majesty by me as yet unpaid.

" I should precisely have observed your time if infirm bodies were as ready ministers of the mind as pens, out of which reason I trust my absence will be rightly interpreted and held excused by you. This gentle proceeding of the Lords of the Council (when they might have sent for me by pursuivant), I humbly acknowledge ; and, therefore, to apply myself unto their command in the dutifullest manner, I shall desire that with your good leaves, I may present my own answer at the Board, which I will early, by God's help, undertake to perform in as short a space as the moderate care of my health will admit, and ease you thereby of any further trouble or burthen.

" But if it so fall forth as you shall not think good to grant me this request, I will then wait upon you before the end of the week, albeit, I be carried in a litter. Thus, desiring to understand by the bearer your good pleasure herein, I rest

" Your very affectionate friend,

" TH. WENTWORTH.

" THORNHILL, this 27th of
May, 1627."

* State Papers, Charles I., Dom. 65, fol. 12, 2, MS. Holograph.

1627. He soon followed in person. Many, who at first refused, were terrified or cajoled into submission when in the presence of the Commissioners. Not so Sir Thomas Wentworth. He made "fair and dutiful answers, but declined to advance the money, and was therefore called to appear before the Privy Council. Here his dignified bearing attracted the respect of those present, but nothing he could urge in favour of the lawfulness of his conduct had any effect on the King, who ordered him to be imprisoned—first in the Marshalsea, and afterwards at Dartford in Kent.

This was the day of Wentworth's greatness—*this* the hour when his good angel seemed to have won the victory. Fellow-prisoners in the same holy cause of justice and the rights of the people were the illustrious John Hampden and Sir John Eliot, twin martyrs of Liberty and Patriotism, who laid down their lives for England—one on the field of battle, the other within the walls of the Tower.

In the list of prisoners we miss the name of Pym, but we may safely conclude that he was either among them, or else that he had not received the Seal. The last is most probable, as Pym was comparatively a poor man.

While numbers of true-hearted Englishmen were thus immured (among them are named six poor tradesmen), Buckingham, though lying under an impeachment for High Treason and not yet tried, was ranging at full liberty and rewarded with new offices. One of these was the appointment of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, granted at the request of the King.

The House of Commons, in high indignation at the

insult offered to their body by thus exalting a man lying under a charge of treason before their dissolution, had ordered a letter to be written to the heads of the University, stating their just displeasure. But the King had forbidden it to be sent, saying that the election had been made in conformity with the charter, and if there were any error in the proceedings, it belonged to him alone to reform it. And, so far from rebuking the electors, he wrote to thank them for honouring himself in Buckingham. 1627.

The next wild act of the King was to declare war against France. Though unable to maintain the cause of the Protestants of the Palatinate against Spain, he now took up the cause of those in France; certainly not from any sympathy with their sufferings, but to avenge a personal quarrel that had broken out between him and the King of France. The nominal excuse was, that the French, who had promised to join him against Spain, had, instead, obstructed the passage of his troops.*

With the means obtained in the manner above described, Charles managed to fit out a small fleet and army. Buckingham was appointed both admiral and commander of the land forces,—his sole recommendation being his beauty and unpopularity,—for a man more utterly ignorant and unqualified for either post *could not have been found*. The result was in accordance. After a hideous slaughter and death by drowning and disease, the English beat an ignominious retreat from the first town they attempted to take by siege and storm, and Buckingham returned, covered with dishonour, still further to enrage the people of England.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 274, 8vo.

1628.

He had consumed most of the money raised by the King ; and so many preferred a prison to a forced loan that the King began to despair of refilling his purse by that means. The condition of England was mournful indeed. At war with the two most powerful nations of Europe, whose privateers watched her vessels from every port, the coasts were unguarded, the sailors clamouring for pay and deserting on all sides, there was no commander to inspire the men with confidence, the best statesmen were in an unlawful prison ; while the debts of the King's government for wages, shipping, and materials, alone, were reckoned at nearly £200,000. Nothing was left between utter ruin and a Parliament.

"Since England was England, it received not so dishonourable a blow," wrote one of Wentworth's brothers-in-law. In sullen despair the King summoned a Parliament, to meet on the 17th of March, 1628. But, when the writs arrived in the different counties, it appeared that the very men the people were resolved to elect were those who had suffered for refusing the loan. In the present condition, the King was forced "to be convinced," and set the prisoners at liberty.

Wentworth was elected Knight of the Shire for Yorkshire. On the day appointed, the King rode in state to Westminster Abbey, and, having heard a sermon, proceeded to the House of Lords to open Parliament.

The events of the previous year would have inspired most men with some feelings of modest doubt, at the least, with regard to the wisdom of his late experiment in government, but Charles continued to

manifest that infallible sign of a feeble mind—*he could* 1628.
not learn from experience, not merely that of others,
 but his own was as powerless to guide him in the
 future as if it had never been.

He addressed the Lords in what has been truly
 called “a speech of insolent menace,” * to which
 might be added that it was one of untruth, in so far
 as he spoke of calling a Parliament through any but
 compulsory reasons.

“Every man,” said the King, “now must do ac-
 cording to his conscience ; wherefore, if you (which God
 forbid) should not do your duties in contributing what
 the State at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my
 conscience, use those other means which God hath
 put into my hands to save that which the follies
 of some particular men may otherwise hazard to lose.

“Take not this as a threatening, for I scorn to
 threaten any but my equals, but an admonition.”

After a few more words, the King referred to the Lord
 Keeper for the rest of his message, and he, after a
 long account of the condition of Europe, all bearing
 on the need of large and immediate supplies, added
 “that he hath chosen this way (an appeal to Parliament)
 not as the only way, but as the fittest ; not as destitute
 of others, but as most agreeable to the goodness of his
 own gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of
 his people.

“If this be deferred, necessity and the sword of
 the enemy will make way to the others.

“Remember his Majesty’s admonition, I say, re-
 member it.”

In the House of Commons, Sir John Finch was

* Forster, Life of Sir John Eliot. British Statesmen, vol. i. p. 57.

1628. chosen Speaker, who, after a long speech, was answered by the Lord Keeper in a similar style to that in which he had addressed the Lords, and in which he informed the Commons :—

“ My lord the King is as an angel of God ; of a quick, a noble, and just apprehension ; he strains not at gnats ; he will easily distinguish between a vapour and a fog.”

The House then passed to business. The language of the royal speeches had not been without effect on the hearers, though that effect was the reverse of the one intended. The miserable dialogue of flattery on one side and threats on the other over, the real speakers arose. As we listen to their voices, we seem among another race of men, and shame gives way to honest pride.

Sir Francis Seymour, great-grandson of the Protector Somerset, opened the debate.

“ This,” said he, “ is the great council of the kingdom, and here, if not here alone, his Majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are all called hither by his writs to give him faithful counsel, such as may stand with his honour. *But that we must do without flattery*, and, being chosen by the Commons to deliver up their just grievances, this we must do without fear. Let us not be like Cambyses’ judges, who, being asked by him concerning something unlawful, said, ‘ Though there were no written law, the Persian kings might do what they list.’ ”

“ This was base flattery, fitter for reproof than imitation ; and, as flattery, so fear taketh away the judgment. I shall shun both these, and speak my mind with as much duty to his Majesty as any man,

not neglecting the public. But how can we speak our affections while we retain our fears, or speak of giving till we know whether we have anything to give? For, if his Majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we to give? That this hath been done appeareth by the billeting of soldiers, a thing no way advantageous to the service, and a burthen to the commonwealth; the imprisonment of gentlemen for the loan, who, if they had done the contrary for fear, their faults had been as great as those who were the projectors of it. 1628.

"To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached in the pulpit, or rather prated, 'All we have is the King's, *jure divino*?' But when preachers forsake their calling and turn ignorant statesmen, we see how willing they are to change a good conscience for a bishopric.

"It is too apparent the people suffer more now than ever. Will you know the true reason? We shall find those princes have been in greatest wants and necessities that have exacted most of their subjects. The reason is plain. A prince is strongest by faithful and wise counsel. I would I could truly say such had been employed abroad. I speak this to show the defect proceeded not from this House.

"I must confess he is no good subject that would not willingly and freely lay down his life when the end may be the service of his Majesty, and the good of the commonwealth. *But he is no good subject but a slave that will let his goods be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom.*

"In doing this we shall but tread the steps of our

1628. forefathers, who still preferred the public interest before their own rights, nay, before their own lives. It will be a wrong to us, to our posterities, to our consciences, if we shall forego this. This we shall do well to present to his Majesty.

"I offer this in the general, thinking the particulars fitting for committees."

This speech was fervently supported. The imminent necessity of supplies was promptly acknowledged, but a still greater need was that of grievances to be redressed. And the Commons were resolved that the greater should precede the less. Among the most ardently and eloquently inspired in the defence of none but legal methods of raising money was Sir Thomas Wentworth. All his aristocratic predispositions seemed swallowed up in his indignation against the late lawless proceedings, and his resolution to place a strong barrier against their repetition. He now rose and spoke as follows:—

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"May this day's resolution be as happy as I conceive the proposition which now moves me to rise, to be seasonable and necessary. For, whether we shall look upon the King or his people, it did never more behove this great physician, the Parliament, to effect a true consent amongst the parties than now.

"This debate carries with it a double aspect: towards the sovereign and towards the subject. Though both be innocent, yet both are injured, both to be cured. In the representation of injuries, I shall crave your attention; in the cure, I shall beseech your equal cares and better judgments.

“In the greatest humility I speak it, these illegal ways are punishments and marks of indignation. 1628.

“The raising of money by loans, strengthened by commission with unheard-of instructions, the billeting of soldiers by the lieutenants, have been as if they could have persuaded Christian princes, nay, worlds, that the right of empire was to take away goods by strong hand ; and they have endeavoured, as far as was possible for them to do it.

“This hath not been done by the King (under the pleasing shade of whose crown I hope we shall ever gather the fruits of justice), but by projectors. These have extended the prerogative of the King beyond its just limits, which means the sweet harmony of the whole.

“They have rent from us the light of our eyes ; enforced companies of guests worse than the ordinances of France ; brought the Crown to greater want than ever it was, by anticipating the revenue ; and can the shepherd be thus smitten and the flock be not scattered ? They have introduced a Privy Council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government, imprisoning us without bail or bond. They have taken from us, what shall I say ? Indeed, what have they left us ? They have taken from us all means of supplying the King, and ingratiating ourselves with him, by tearing up the roots of all property ; which, if they be not seasonably set into the ground by his Majesty’s hand, we shall have, instead of beauty, baldness.

“To the making of all these whole, I shall apply myself, and propound a remedy to all these diseases.

“By one and the same thing hath the King and the

1628. people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured.
To vindicate what? New things?

"No; our ancient, lawful, and vital liberties, by reinforcing the ancient laws made by our ancestors, by setting such a stamp upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them. And shall we think this a way? To break a Parliament? No; our desires are modest and just. (I speak truly both for the interest of the King and people.) If we enjoy not these, it will be impossible to relieve him: therefore, let us never fear but they will be accepted by his goodness.

"Wherefore, I shall descend to my motion, which consists of four parts, two of which have relation to the persons, and two to the property of our goods.

"1st. For our persons: the freedom of them from imprisonment, and from employments abroad, against our own consents, contrary to the customs of this kingdom.

"2. The second, for our goods: that no levies may be made but by Parliament, and no billeting of soldiers.

"It is most necessary that these be resolved, that the subjects may be secured in both.

"Then, for the manner, it will be fit to determine it by a grand committee." *

The delight of the constitutional party at this declaration was only equalled by the consternation of the few absolute royalists. The speakers had well-defined facts in their minds when they uttered their significant allusions. Thus, one of the "prating preachers turned ignorant statesmen" was Dr. Roger

* Somers's Tractes, vol. iv. Parliamentary History.

Mainwaring, who, on the issue of the Loan Commission, had declared from the pulpit : "That the King's imposing of loans and taxes, though without common consent in Parliament, doth oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation." 1628.

"That they who refuse to pay this loan are guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion.

"That the authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies, the slow proceedings of such great assemblies being not fit for the supply of the State's urgent necessities."*

The abuses named in a portion of Wentworth's speech referred to the conduct of the soldiers who had been billeted by the King's order perforce on the inhabitants.

"The soldiers broke into great disorders," says an eye-witness. "There were frequent robberies, murders, and barbarous cruelties ; the highways were dangerous, and the markets unfrequented." As to the foreign service complained of, the case of Sir Peter Hayman will afford a good illustration.

On refusing the loan, he was called before the Privy Council, and told if he did not at once advance the money he should be sent on foreign service, and pay his own expenses. However, having taken legal advice, he refused to go, on which the Council adopted another plan, and appointed him attaché to an ambassador.

Chief among the King's supporters was Sir John Coke, Secretary of State. The defection of so well-known an aristocrat as Wentworth from the royal

* Rushworth.

1628. cause filled him with alarm, and this cool examination of matters did not appear to him advisable. He hurriedly said, that all thought fit supplies and grievances should go hand in hand together, but suggested how much more courteous and respectful it would be, if the Commons made the supplies precede the redress of grievances.

But the majority were of ruder souls, and persisted in the discussion, till the King, impatient for money, sent down a list of fourteen different purposes for which it was needed. This list was called: "the King's Propositions."

When these were discussed, still more dangerous opinions were broached. Some declared that money was already apportioned for divers of these new demands. Others pointed to the fact, that former subsidies had not been applied to the purpose given. Others exposed the shameful waste by the Duke of Buckingham of all that had been reaped by the late illegal means. Sir Thomas Wentworth went as far as any.

"I cannot," said he, "forget that duty which I owe to my country, and, unless we be secured in our liberties, we cannot give.

"I speak not this to make diversions, but to the end that, giving, I may give cheerfully.

"As to the Propositions to be considered of, I incline to decline them, and to look upon the state of our country, whether it be fit to give or no. Are we to come to an end for our country's liberties? Have we trenched on the rates of the deputy-lieutenants? Are we secured for some time future?"

The story of Sir Peter Hayman attracted special attention, the more as it appeared that the King had

been influenced in the matter by some private enemies of Hayman. 1628.

Wentworth pointed out the extreme danger of such a custom, by making the King, himself, a tool of private hatred.

"If," said he, "any one owes a man displeasure, and shall procure him to be put into foreign employment, it will be a matter of high concernment to the subject. We know the honour and justice of the King, but we know not what his ministers or the mediation of ambassadors may do, to work their own malice and resentment upon any man."

While the Commons were thus weighing each matter separately, with a view to a petition for redress of the whole, the King sent repeatedly to their House to expedite supply. If only they would grant that, he promised they should find he had no intention to encroach on their liberties. He said that he observed the questions in agitation among them, touching the freedom of their persons and properties. He declared that he quite approved their taking particular care of these, and assured them they should enjoy their rights and liberties as much as under the best of their kings. And if they chose to secure themselves therein by a bill, or otherwise, he promised to yield to it, provided only it consisted with his honour and the public good. The altered tone of Charles was hailed by the Commons, and a day was appointed to consider the question of supply. And to prove that their hesitation had not been caused by meanness, they voted the largest gift ever offered by an English Parliament, namely, that of five subsidies* amounting to £350,000.

* Parliamentary History, 2.

1628.

When the King was informed of this liberality, and found that it was granted without one dissenting voice, he expressed his satisfaction, saying: "That he liked Parliaments at first, then distasted them, and now loved them again," and sent a pleasant message to the Commons, repeating his former promises.*

This message was greatly marred and weakened in effect by a piece of imbecile impertinence on the part of the Duke of Buckingham, which Charles had the bad taste to allow. It would be difficult for the patronising airs of an arrogant fool to go farther.

When the message arrived from the Commons, announcing the amount voted, Buckingham said, that hitherto *he* had been the King's favourite, but now he begged his Majesty to transfer that name to the Commons, and call him, instead, his servant. He next asked as a favour to himself, that the King would show his favour to all the Commons alike. *He* (the Duke) would answer for it, that the Commons' demands would be so moderate, that the King might safely grant them. Then this suffering patriot revealed his sleepless nights and his secret sorrows because it had been thought that his influence had been the means of keeping the King and Parliament asunder. "But now," he declared, "more blessed than the day of his birth," was that which enabled him to serve the Parliament and to see the King brought into love with it. As for himself, he should ever approve himself a good spirit, breathing nothing but the best services to them all.

This speech was carried to the Parliament along with that of the King, as something to add to its satisfaction. Had Buckingham been as harmless as

* Rushworth, I.

he was foolish, it is not likely that any deeper feeling than the outward gravity of the House would have been disturbed. But the importance given by the Secretary of State to this outrageous piece of arrogance aroused the indignation of the listeners, and Sir John Eliot gave it voice by a rebuke, that it could be thought either they or the King could be influenced in their duties, or submit to have their names coupled in this manner with that of another man. And it, doubtless, greatly weakened their reliance on the promises of Charles to see him, as ever, the puppet of "Steenie." This, alone, would have been enough to render necessary the disappointment of Charles, who imagined that the subsidies would follow the vote without further conditions, while the Duke, probably, already saw them at his disposal, and squandered them in imagination.

But when the King's spokesman, Secretary Coke, a few days after, said, rather complainingly, "that though they had freely and bountifully given five subsidies," yet no day for handing them over to the King was appointed, and begged one to be fixed at once, he was overwhelmed with disappointment and dismay to see Sir Thomas Wentworth arise, and move :—

"When we set down the time, let us be sure the subjects' liberties go hand-in-hand together. Then to resolve of the time, but not report it to the House till we have a ground, and a bill for our liberties. This is the way to come off fairly, and prevent jealousies." This was at once carried, and the committee of the whole House resolved :—"That Grievances and Supply go hand-in-hand."

1628.

Had the King really been sincere in his desire to redress grievances, he would at least have asked what they were, and if reasonable, or such as he meant to grant, he could at once have restored confidence, and confirmed the awakened good feeling, by a hearty compliance with just demands. On the contrary, he revived every fear. The day after the above resolution of the Commons, he sent Sir John Coke to them with a message altogether in the old style. His Majesty informed them: "That without any further or unnecessary delay, he would have them to proceed in his business. For, however he had been willing that his affairs and theirs should concur, and proceed together, yet his meaning was not that the one should give interruption to the other, nor the time to be spun out upon any pretence, to hinder that resolution upon which the common cause of the kingdom and all Christendom did so much depend.

"He bade the Commons, therefore, take heed, that they forced him not (by their tedious and unnecessary delays), to make an unpleasing end of that which was so well begun."

It is not surprising to find it recorded that "this message was very unpleasing to the House."

Again Sir Thomas Wentworth arose, and gave utterance to the wrongs of the past, in order to vindicate the precautions of the Commons, in the following words:—

"I cannot help lamenting the unlawful courses and slights for which the only excuse is necessity. We are required to give, but before we can resolve to give, it must be determined what we have to give. What heavy fogs have, of late, darkened our hemi-

sphere, and yet hang over us, portending our ruin, none is so weak as to be ignorant of. 1628.

“What unsteady courses to dispel these mists have been pursued, and thereby raised near us great storms, I take no pleasure to remember. Yet, in all bodies diseased, the knowledge precedes the cure. I will shortly tell the principals, next their remedies. I must reduce them into two heads, one, whereby our persons have been injured, the other, whereby our estates have suffered.

“Our persons have been injured, both by imprisonment without law—nay, against law—boundless, and without bank; and being designed to some office, charge, and employment, foreign or domestic, as a brand of infamy and mark of disgrace.

“Oh! Mr. Speaker, when it may not be safe to deny payments upon unjust exactions, but we must go to prison for it; nor in this place to speak our consciences, but we must be stamped to unwilling and unfitting employments! Our estates have been racked two ways, one in the loan, wherein five subsidies were exacted, and that by commission of men of quality, and instructions to prosecute the same with an asperity which no times can parallel. And hence, the other consideration of the projectors and executioners of it. Nay, this was not all: but ministers in their pulpits have preached it as gospel, and damned the refusers of it. So there we are already doomed to damnation!

“The second way, wherein our estates have suffered, hath been, and yet is in being, by billeting of soldiers in most counties in this kingdom.

“These rough ways lead neither to the King’s profit nor the kingdom’s safety. The former may appear

1628. by the emptiness of the exchequer, and sale of the ancient crown lands; the latter by the imminent and deep dangers that are ready to swallow us up. But I take no pleasure in touching these things. I conclude with this motion :

“ ‘That we name a committee to consult on these Grievances, and to digest them moderately, discreetly, and truly, into an humble petition.’

“ And let no man distrust his Majesty, or judge this way a breakneck of Parliaments, but a way of honour to the King—nay, of profit. For besides the supply which we shall readily give him suitable to his occasions, we give him our hearts. Our hearts, Mr. Speaker, a gift that God calls for, and fit for a King.”

The speech of Wentworth went into immediate effect. A special committee of ten members was at once appointed in order to reduce the causes of complaint to as few heads as possible to lay before the King.

Among these, one is worthy of notice, not only as being dwelt on with particular bitterness by the people, but as accounting in many ways for the defeat of Charles in the long struggle of after years. This was the bad characters of his soldiers. In the special petition drawn up to be relieved of them, the King's troops are described as the general terror. The people could not go to church for fear of having their houses plundered by them meanwhile, and the officers of justice found their lives endangered in the attempt to take them. Farmers, “to secure themselves from the soldiers' insolence,” were, “by the clamour and solicitation of their fearful and injured wives and children, enforced to give up their wonted dwellings, and to

retire themselves into places of more secure habitation." Tradesmen and artificers were obliged to give up all occupation but that of protecting their families, when the soldiers came. The markets were deserted, and the common roads as dangerous as if infested by highwaymen, wherever there was a camp near. In the list of the common deeds of these men, are given frequent robberies, assaults, batteries, burglaries, murders, barbarous cruelties—and other most abominable vices and outrages. Few were brought to trial, and fewer still were punished. And, in addition to their own misdeeds, their shocking example, and the corruption they brought among the poor and ignorant, whom they terrified as well as lured into temptation, rendered them pests wherever they marched.* And when we see how such wretches, by means of indiscriminate billeting, were forced upon poor respectable families, the old English hatred of a standing army is at once explained.

On the 1st of May, Charles sent a message to the Parliament to inquire whether, if he granted their requests, the members would "rest upon his Royal Word and Promise" without further security, assuring them that if they did so, his word and promise should be really and royally performed."

On hearing this demand, a few were for replying in the affirmative, but Wentworth, more cautious, said :

"That never Parliament trusted more in the goodness of their King, so far as regarded themselves only, than the present. But we are ambitious that his Majesty's goodness may remain to posterity, and we are accountable to a public trust, and, therefore,

* Petition against the Billeting Soldiers, Parl. History, vol. ii., p. 83.

1628. seeing there hath been a public violation of the laws by his ministers, nothing can satisfy them but a public amends.

“And our desire to vindicate the subject’s right by bill are no more than are laid down in former laws, with some modest provision for instruction, performance, and execution.”

This argument at once settled all hesitation, and it was ordered to be embodied in an address to the King. But the address being clothed in the usual flattering forms, Charles again dwelt on these expressions of confidence, and demanded that they should be acted upon.

“Ye acknowledge,” said he, by the Lord-Keeper, “that your greatest trust and confidence must be in his Majesty’s grace and goodness,” and, “what need a new law to confirm an old, if you repose confidence in the declaration his Majesty made.”

Again, Charles sent messages to both Houses, stating his good intentions; and again, on hearing the new letter to the Lords, and sent by them to the Commons, Wentworth declared:

“It was a letter of grace, but the people will only like of that which is done in a parliamentary way. Besides, the debate of it would spend much time. Neither was it directed to the House of Commons. The petition proposed would clear all mistakes, for some gave it out as if the House went about to pinch the King’s prerogative.”

At length, after careful deliberation, the petition for the removal of grievances was drawn up, and sent up to the House of Lords. The Lords concurred in all that was therein stated, but desired to add the fol-

lowing words : " We humbly present this petition to your Majesty, not only with a care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith your Majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people." 1628.

This addition was strongly objected to by the Commons, as charged with danger, as it was found, on referring to the records, that " a sovereign power " was described as " free from any conditions."

" Let us give," said one bold member, " that to the King the law gives him, and no more."

" All our petition," said Pym, " is for the laws of England, and this power seems to be another distinct power from the power of the law."

And Wentworth pronounced : " If we do admit of this addition, we shall leave the subject worse than we found him, and we shall have little thanks for our labour when we come home.

" Let us leave all power to his Majesty to punish malefactors, but these laws are not acquainted with ' Sovereign Power.'

" We desire no new thing, nor do we offer to trench on his Majesty's prerogative. We may not recede from this petition, either in part or in whole."

The Commons then sent their objections to this addition up to the House of Lords, who, after due thought, consented to withdraw it.

Both Houses were now fully agreed on the petition. As it was for no new privileges, but simply desired as a confirmation of old laws already sworn to by the King himself, and which embodied the most precious provisions of Magna Charta, for the liberty of the

1628. subject and protection against illegal taxation, it was called, in the lofty language of justice, The Petition of Right, and was destined for ever after to take its place by the side of Magna Charta in the annals of English liberty.

After the usual amount of equivocation and hesitation, the King formally granted the Petition of Right, and immediately afterwards the bill was passed granting him the five subsidies so long delayed. On the 26th of June, Parliament was prorogued, and with this prorogation, closed the happiness and glory of Sir Thomas Wentworth's life.

CHAPTER V.

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IN the struggle for the Petition of Right, we have seen Wentworth take the foremost place. Anything more decided than the liberal and popular opinions then expressed by him, we shall not find in the whole of the parliamentary debates. 1628.

That he should have taken so energetic a part in the combat for the rights of the people, and joined himself to a party opposed to every predisposition he might naturally be supposed to hold, was astonishing enough, yet to be accounted for by the clearness and strength of his intellect, enabling him to pierce the mists of aristocratic prejudice, and follow with undaunted resolution the path singled out by his moral vision. But, having once entered it, it seems to have required a far greater miracle to turn back. Never could it have appeared more attractive. It was peopled by some of the noblest and most illustrious beings that had ever existed in any age or clime. There was not a comparison to be drawn, for a moment, between the intellects of the royalist and the popular party. At the head of the former was the Duke of Buckingham. But the leaders of those whom Wentworth had joined, and whose motto was obedience to the law, were Pym, Hampden, and Sir John Eliot, with a host of shining if less

1628. resplendent lights. Between Pym and Wentworth an intimate acquaintance is said to have sprung up.

If we except, what, indeed, is a great exception, the feebleness of his constitution, it is difficult to imagine a more enviable position than that of Wentworth at this period.

In his domestic circle he was supremely happy. His wife was beautiful, amiable, and to highly cultivated talents she united a deeply affectionate heart whose tenderness was poured out on her husband, and after him, on her nearest relations. Two beautiful children sported in his home, and the kinsmen of his wife seemed to have fully shared the regards of his own brothers and sisters. And if, indeed, friendship be the greatest, best gift of Heaven, could any man desire more worthy friends than those we have named? And to this was added the deep love and reverence of the country, for which Wentworth had not only pleaded but suffered.

And blessings of a less, but still welcome, degree, were his. He was enabled to indulge in the purest hospitality and generosity, as well as to cultivate the most refined tastes, untroubled by anxieties for the future for himself or children. Even the one great drawback we have named, of ill-health, was alleviated by all that wealth could give: how great such an aid, let poverty-stricken sufferers tell.

Against most of those who opposed the authority of the law to the despotism of his iron will, Charles manifested a rancorous hatred. But to Wentworth, who had been as bold as any in opposition, his feelings were of a different kind. When he pricked his name among the sheriffs, he at the time made the observation,

that Sir Thomas Wentworth "was an honest gentleman," a compliment extended to none of the others. 1628.
And now, instead of visiting him with punishment for the prominent part he had taken in obtaining the Petition of Right, he made secret overtures to draw Wentworth from his party.

What these were, definitely, we cannot say. But it is certain that as early as the 14th of July, 1628, Wentworth was, without the least visible cause, created Baron Wentworth, New Marsh, and Oversly, by patent, and, in the following October, Viscount Wentworth, a member of the Privy Council, and, more than all, President of the Council of the North.

The chief instrument in procuring this bond of honours between Wentworth and the King was Sir Richard Weston, then Lord Treasurer, who, himself a courtier, had viewed the course taken by Wentworth with apprehension. A lofty-minded friend would have witnessed these sudden elevations with far greater fear. Assuredly, the King could not have conferred them for the past, and if they were granted with reference to future services, what were those services to be? The rare advocates of Wentworth take the ground that he only opposed the King while the King was acting illegally, but when the Petition of Right was granted, there was every reason for his returning to Charles. Of course, if the future career of Charles had proved that of a constitutional king, or if, when he again broke his promise and the laws of England, Wentworth had again left him, this argument would be unanswerable. But it is yet quite possible that Wentworth did honestly believe in a new order of things when he accepted his new title.

1628.

The Court of the President and Council of the North was of very modern appointment, being ordained by Henry VIII., under the following circumstances :—

To the suppression of the monasteries, the northern counties of England were violently opposed. Then, as now, they were more tenacious than any part of England of old usages and institutions. Within three years after the royal mandate had gone forth, there were six insurrections against it of so formidable a nature that the King found it necessary to resort to special measures of despotism to enforce his will. Accordingly, the Council of the North, with the Bishop of Llandaff as President, was appointed for the government of the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, the bishoprick of Durham, and specially the towns of York, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

This was, according to the principal words of the commission, a common court of *oyer and terminer*, or a court to inquire, hear, and determine all treasons, felonies, and misdemeanours. But to this was added a clause for the hearing of all causes, real and personal, when either of the parties were so poor that they could not prosecute or defend at law. This clause was stated by Lord Clarendon to be utterly illegal ; but he adds that it was never disputed.

When Lord Sheffield was appointed to the office of Lord President, the words of the Commission were greatly altered. Instead of being ordered to act according to the laws of England, the Commission told him to act according to instructions received. This last clause was in the commission of Lord Wentworth, and

will be found fraught with most momentous consequences to himself and others. 1629.

Such an office, of course, removed Wentworth from Parliament, and thus deprived the Commons of a great power by his absence alone.

But of far more mournful prospect was the withdrawal of his heart from the sacred cause of liberty. His intimacy with the King was marked by coldness towards his old associates, and by much more than coldness on their parts.

A story is told that shortly before his departure to York, to assume his office, he met Pym at Greenwich. A short conversation ensued, in which his changed sentiments became apparent to Pym, who said: "You are going to leave us, I see, but we will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders." *

Though Wentworth deferred his departure till Parliament should be closed, he appeared there no more. The assassination of Buckingham during the recess had removed the great rival and the bugbear of the Parliament. But those who attributed the faults of Charles to the influence of the Duke, and looked for their disappearance with his death, were miserably disappointed.

The Parliament reassembled in January, 1629. The first thing discussed was the shameful breach of the Petition of Right during the recess.

One of the express articles of this Petition sworn to by the King, and by which he obtained his five subsidies, was that no more soldiers should be billeted on

* This tale rests on the authority of Wellwood, whose Memoirs contain so much that is doubtful, that it is not just to Pym to pay much heed to such an anecdote as would colour his conduct rather with revenge than patriotism.

1629. the people. Yet soldiers had been sent to Chichester on the 28th of December, 1628; and when the people appealing to the Petition had refused to receive them, a threatening letter had been sent from the Privy Council to enforce their reception, and to order the refusers to be sent to prison.*

Another article was that no tax of any kind whatever was to be imposed by the King without the consent of Parliament. Yet he had seized, during the recess, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and imprisoned several merchants who had refused to pay them without the authority of Parliament. When a vote was proposed condemning these proceedings as unconstitutional, the Speaker declared the King had commanded him to put no such question to the vote, and that as soon as he had delivered this message he was to rise. He attempted to leave his chair, but the indignation of the Commons at his cowardly conduct showed itself in an unexpected manner. He was held down in his chair by Denzil Holles, Wentworth's brother-in-law, and other members, swearing he should sit there till it pleased them he should rise. The wretched creature, "with abundance of tears," whined out, "I will not say I will not, but I dare not," and begged them not to cause his ruin by forcing him to disobey the King.†

He was at once told that he was the servant of the House, and that if his present conduct were to pass unpunished, it would afford a precedent to any dishonest Speaker in future, who might, thereby, under the pretence of the King's command, refuse to propose the business of the House, and ordered him to

* Rushworth, Sup. vol. i. p. 32.

† Parl. Hist., 2, 491.

proceed with the vote, which, however, he still refused with "extremity of weeping" and supplicatory orations. 1629.

But his tears, so far from calling forth any pity from the enraged members, simply brought one of his own relations (Sir Peter Hayman) to rise and tell him with infinite disgust: "That he was sorry he was his kinsman, for that he was the disgrace of his country and a blot of a noble family," and similar pleasant truths.

But all was in vain. Nothing could persuade this disgrace to the name of an Englishman to open his mouth or conquer his abject terror of the King.

Accordingly the articles of protestation against the late breaches of law were read by Holles.

The effect of this was that Charles in a moment flung away all the advantages he had gained in the last session, and, on the 10th of March, once more dissolved the Parliament in a rage, resolving, that come what would, he would rule by his will alone. For twelve years he carried out this intention, and during the whole of that time no Parliament was once called.

That Wentworth was absent from its closing scenes is the first visible and sure sign of his falling off in duty and patriotism.

On hearing of his appointment, the Roman Catholics in the North were seized with a universal panic, and not without cause. They had witnessed the arbitrary methods of the King in raising money, and that the Petition of Right, from which all parties had hoped so much, had proved a mere barrier of air against his unlawful demands. But to this was added a special danger for the Catholics. The Protestants were their bitter enemies, and one of the charges against the

1629. King was that he had not put in force those stringent laws imposing heavy fines on the Catholics, both for attending their own mass and for not attending the English service. And the energy shown by Wentworth in the cause of Parliament, might well cause them to believe that he shared its persecuting religious spirit. His predecessor in the North, the Earl of Sunderland, had been remarkably lax towards them, and on his departure, to use the words of Wandesford: "the Papists hung down their heads like bulrushes, and thought themselves like water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again." They said their days of security and quietness were over, and must now be turned into hours of anxiety and watchfulness to defend themselves from the vigilance of the new President. They were not deceived. One of his first acts was to collect the neglected arrears of fines due from the recusants. The false security into which the administration of Lord Sunderland had lulled them rendered this sudden call doubly hard. Bitter complaints were sent to the South that the new President valued the goods of the poorest not only at the highest rates, but often above their value, refusing to make the least reduction.

One prospect remained, viz., that the Privy Council would treat the Court of the Lord President as so inferior as to require all its decisions to be ratified at Westminster before they would be legal. This would give ample chance for obtaining reversions of its decrees, especially by timely bribes and secret influence with the Queen.

But Wentworth soon quenched this hope. The position he demanded, and without which he refused

to hold his new office, was that of perfect independence of all but appeal. No ratification must be needed. 1630.

But the Catholics were not the only recusants. Already the increase of ritualism had produced discord in the Church, and the Dissenters were not the only opponents of the new ceremonies.

Peter Smart, a clergyman who held many high offices in the North, was degraded for his refusal to join in the fantastic ordinances of Laud.

By the Court of High Commission at York, for "preaching a factious, scandalous, and schismatic sermon" in the cathedral of Durham, on the 27th of July, 1628, he was sentenced to make a public submission in the cathedrals of York and Durham, to be suspended from his ministry, and to pay a fine of 400*l.*, with the costs of his own prosecution. For a time, he defended himself, denying that he had offended against any point of doctrine or discipline, and protesting that he was a true son of the Church. But the expenses of law at last obliged him to resign, and his bishop, Dr. Howson, who sympathised with him, unwillingly, and only in obedience to his own superior, dismissed him from all his offices.* Smart desired that his stall in Durham might be given to Miles White, a friend of his, and succeeded in obtaining the interest of the Lord President in his behalf.

The following letter is one whose importance as one of the unconscious contributions to the materials of history cannot be too highly rated. From it we learn how tremendous a scourge was the ever-wandering pestilence in those times, and how feeble the only barrier known to oppose to it. Not a vestige of science

* State Papers, Charles I., Dom. 173, fol. 43, MS.

1631. appears. No inquiry is made as to the cause of its being so much more deadly when coming from Lincolnshire than Lancashire. No sanitary measures are proposed; nothing but drugs and the prohibition of crowds, and the brave resolve of the Court to hold its sitting because the presence of its members gives more courage to the people.

Other items of information crop up. Beeston and Stolbeck are "new towns." Halifax does a large trade in clothing, and, with Leeds, transacts more business than all the country round. If they are injured, the consequences must spread far and wide.

*Lord Wentworth to Viscount Dorchester.**

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—It is full time in my judgment to give your lordship a short account of our present condition in these parts, which, as it shall seem good in your better wisdom may be made known to his Majesty or my Lords of the Council in case you would direct us anything more to be done than is already. True it is that (leaving our neighbours of Lancashire and Lincolnshire miserably distressed with the pestilence) that now, within these six weeks, the infection is come to ourselves in divers parts of this county, and last of all into this city. Upon the edge of Lancashire there is the town of Heptonstall, which hath near forty houses infected; Mirfield, a little town not far off it, hath lost ninescore persons, and both these towns within four miles of Halifax, which yet, God be praised, stands sound, but much in danger by reason of the great number of people and large trade

* State Papers, Charles I., Dom. vol. 200, fol. 14, MS. (holograph).

of clothing thereabouts. It is, likewise, in the new towns of Beeston and Stolbeck, which are within one mile of Leeds, and if it should please God to visit either of those great towns, Halifax or Leeds, which two alone trade more than all the country besides, in good faith, it would mightily distress and impoverish all that side of the country. 1631.

“ Again, on this side there is the town of Redness and Armin, both seated upon this river, furiously infected. At the least, fourscore houses infected, and a hundred persons dead within these five weeks, besides some four or five little villages besides; this being brought to us forth of Lincolnshire, as on the other part it was forth of Lancashire, and of the two is observed to be much more taking and deadly.

“ Finally, it was brought hither by a lewd woman, who brake forth of Armin, lodged in an outside of the town, and there ungraciously left it behind her. Since, there are dead in that street some fourscore persons, and hath not, as yet, God be praised, got within the walls, saving in two houses, forth of which all the dwellers are removed to the pest-houses, but is broken forth without the walls at two other ends of the town, and into Huntingdon and Acomb, two little villages within two miles of us.

“ Thus we stand expecting what God will do for us. I trust we are yet safe within the town, and the winter coming on, we may, by God’s blessing, recover ourselves.

“ The town takes much comfort in our stay here, and would fall into affrights and confusion if we should leave them, so as we as yet hold on our ordinary sitting, and we dispense of his Majesty’s accustomed justice to his people. And in good faith I should for my

1631. part be very loath to leave them in this distressed case, seeing they conceive they are much the better for my stay amongst them, and that, in truth, I think they are now much more orderly than they would be under the government of the Mayor alone. All the means we can think of have been used to prevent the spreading of it, by inhibiting all the public fairs hereabouts, which might draw a concourse of people together. Our watches are very well and strictly kept in every place; all passages betwixt us and Lincolnshire by water stopped as much as may be, to the extent that coming by land they may be a little better aired before they come into any part of this county. The visited persons are well provided of all such drugs and other medicines as the physicians advise to be good to prevent and correct the malignity of this contagion. We, as the better half of those that have had it in this town, it is, thanks be to God, escaped. I fear I grow troublesome, but I am more particular in my relation that knowing the truth of our case, we may, by your lordship's means, be bettered by the wisdom of his Majesty and the Lords, if there be any other thing which they shall command for our good or greater safety amidst so much danger; and, my lord, the uttermost of the pains I will give you for the present shall be only to write myself,

“Your Lordship's very humble Servant,

“WENTWORTH.

“York, this 22nd of September, 1631.

“Even now they bring me word of the plague broken forth in another little town two miles off.”

Perhaps no man ever existed who more keenly noted

the marvellous effects of outward forms and ceremonies on the common mass than Lord Wentworth. Dress, titles, attitudes, gestures, styles, and formalities, were to him so many instruments for overawing those around him. None knew better than himself their real tinsel and hollowness. But as tools they were invaluable. Of all the English, the Puritans and Quakers alone seemed unmoved by the insignia of rank, and, as yet, these religious sects were too feeble to be counted. Accordingly, Wentworth commenced his rule in the North with all the pomp and formality of a royal representative. He exacted from all the strictest attention to the minutest points of etiquette, and there was no more dangerous mistake than for any one, under any circumstances, to neglect the least act of outward reverence to his position. He very soon made this understood. However, about eighteen months after his installation, a young gentleman named Mr. Bellasis, the son and heir of Lord Falconberg, chanced to enter the room where Lord Wentworth was holding a Council. By what was certainly a strange absence of mind, to say the least, he neither bowed or manifested the slightest sense that he had intruded into the private room of the highest Council of the North, and that while the council were sitting, but remained stolidly gazing. When the Council was over, and all the members rose to depart, bare-headed, with the Lord President himself at their head, also with his hat off, and preceded by the nace-bearer, this young gentleman simply kept on his hat, and without the faintest movement of courtesy, even as much as from one gentleman to another, airily stared Lord Wentworth out of the room. 1631.

1631. When we consider what was exacted in those days, —what is not dispensed with in the present time, in the presence of high officers of State, it can scarcely be thought strange that Mr. Bellasis was at once summoned before the Privy Council to answer for his insolence.

He declared, with "a deep and solemn protestation," that he came into the room fully purposed and ready to perform that respect and reverence to the Lord Viscount Wentworth, which he acknowledged to be due to the place he held under his Majesty. And the reason why he did not put off his hat to his lordship as he left the room, was that his face was turned the other way, talking with Lord Fairfax. That his lordship was passed before he was aware thereof, that otherwise he would have put off his hat and given that reverence to his lordship.

It will be seen, at once, that this defence did not agree with the charge. The Privy Councillors then commanded the culprit to kneel to hear his sentence. But he only feigned to kneel. The Council then ordered that he should write out his own explanation of the affair, with an acknowledgment that he was sorry he ever gave such occasion of offence and scandal to the Lord Wentworth. But this he refused, and was, in consequence, committed to the Gatehouse Prison.

After a month's imprisonment, he was again called before the Council, and said he was willing to make the acknowledgment required, but that he hoped his submission was understood to have relation to the place and not to the person of the Lord President. On this speech he was at once ordered to withdraw, when his friends at last persuaded him to obey in full, and,

having written his apology, he was at once set at liberty.* 1631.

This has been constantly quoted as one of Lord Wentworth's "tyrannical" acts. It is left to the judgment of the reader.†

Ever after young Bellasis regarded Lord Wentworth with a malignant personal hatred. Omitting to state the provocation he had given in the first place, and the manner in which he had aggravated that provocation afterwards, by the petty insolence of his distinction between "my Lord President" and "my Lord-President's office," the singular impertinence

* Rushworth, Sup. 2, p. 88.

† It is ungracious work to have to point to errors in authors to whom, as in the present case, we are under obligation. And yet fairness to the subject of the present biography obliges me to give a note with its authority (the identical one used in the above anecdote) appended to Mr. McDiarmid's "Life of Strafford." Speaking of Bellasis, he says, p. 121, n. : "This young nobleman was charged before the Privy Council with having come into a room, at a public meeting, without showing any particular reverence to the Lord-President, and with having aggravated the offence by keeping his hat immovably fixed on his head, when his lordship, in state, departed from the assembly. Bellasis pleaded that his negligence arose solely from accident; that he had never been guilty of intentional disrespect; and that having his face turned the other way he was not aware of his lordship's approach till he had passed. It was not, however, till after a month's imprisonment and a written acknowledgment of his contrition, that this apology was accepted.—Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 88." Let any one turn to the place given in "Rushworth," and he will find all those subsequent and aggravating circumstances related in the text, which assign quite another cause for the "month's imprisonment." How many a character has been injured by such slips, in otherwise able historians, only the original searcher can know. And I have been astonished to find how often historians of high authority copy one another's statements and references without verification, and consequently with repetition of original errors. Justice to the real searcher should alone be a reason for stating when documents are cited at second hand. This version of the Bellasis' tale by Mr. McDiarmid has been constantly given on Rushworth's, not McDiarmid's, authority, and that, too, by such historians as Mr. Hallam and others of equal weight.

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with which he acted all through the affair, he represented himself as a suffering martyr in the cause of liberty, and succeeded in this so well that his cause has been taken up by grave historians, who surely never could have read the whole case.

Not such acts as punishing lightly enough a conceited young person of this stamp for such an offence are to be regretted in Lord Wentworth. No; it was that in his heart was slowly, surely rising the interest of the King before the good of the people. He seems to have become inspired with that infatuated kind of attachment for Charles that sacrifices all things to the desires of its object. And, indeed, it is one of the most remarkable points in Lord Wentworth's character that, while he never sought to please, or treated the world at large otherwise than with a coldness of manner that largely added to his unpopularity, and awoke both hate and fear, yet those few individuals who had won his heart were worshipped by him with a passionate idolatry that knew no change or decay. Unfortunately, it was not that lofty and rare love that makes the spiritual welfare of its beloved its first thought, that will bid it rather suffer than do wrong—will suffer all things to save it from sin, as well as from loss and pain. No; Wentworth's impulse led him to gratify the wishes of his friend, good or bad, at any cost; and thus this mighty stream, that might have fertilised wherever it flowed, producing immortal flowers of virtue and honour, too often proved a power that bore destruction in its tide.

That he could have influenced the King for good is, however, utterly unlikely. The influence here was on the side of the King, who did his utmost to make

Wentworth irrevocably his own. That Charles was very different in his manners at different times and to different persons, we may judge from the opposite accounts given by those who approached him. Lord Clarendon and Carte, both his advocates, describe him as cold, morose, unwilling to bend, and desirous of maintaining the majesty of royalty by punctilious etiquette, and a new code thereof invented by himself, somewhat on the model of Spain. He had a humiliating remembrance of the want of dignity shown by his late father, and he thought to remedy its lingering effects by the other extreme. Accordingly, he multiplied the courtly regulations to a cumbersome degree, till the court of Queen Elizabeth must have seemed like a social drawing-room compared with that of Charles. Men were constantly and offensively reminded of their inferiority of rank by written orders hung up outside of rooms formerly common to all, that entrance was limited to certain titles, and many mistakes and corrections, therefore, were made, excessively painful to the majority of courtiers of lower rank. According to Carte,* this had a great effect in alienating many from the King, while it made the few only more arrogant.

On the other hand, he is represented as the very model of suavity and courtesy. Among those that were won by his manner was Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, who formed one of a deputation to Charles at the time of the Scotch revolt against the Liturgy. He was a stern Scotch minister, the last to be subdued by outward things, yet he declares that, at the interview with the King,

* See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*.

1631. though he went to defend resistance to his will, he found him "verie sober, meek, and patient, and loving of clear reason." At the next interview, Baillie, still more carried away with admiration, pronounced that "his Majesty was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they had ever seen," adding naïvely, "and he likewise was the more enamoured with us." *

No doubt, Charles appeared to Wentworth as to Baillie. He had a strong desire to win him, and transfer those abilities, acknowledged on all sides, to his own service. No doubt, he made Wentworth, like Baillie, believe that he was "enamoured of him," and when to this was added all the influence of those friends and relations whom Wentworth had been accustomed to consult on all occasions, the result is more explicable. The very coldness of the King to others would make his affability, in special cases, of greater weight, and the favourable remarks he made in the absence of Wentworth were all carefully reported by those who desired him to be affected by them. Wentworth firmly believed that the King had conceived an affection for him, desired his friendship, and that this strong desire had overcome the natural displeasure he might be supposed to feel at his previous opposition. Nor was it at all unnatural for Wentworth to argue, at first, that he might be able to help the King by means of this exceptional favour, without taking into consideration the chance of the King's influence on his own character. But, at any rate, it is sure that Wentworth was won. Not, I believe, by any title or hope of worldly reward. If that had been able to subdue or

* Baillie's Letters, vol. i.

allure him, he never could have taken the part he did with regard to the Loan and the Petition of Right. He was far too wealthy to care for the loss of the money and if his own worldly advantage was his object, then, as his friends told him, the money for the Loan was the least evil that could befall him; but there seems no reason for doubting, that up to the time the King sought his personal friendship, he acted from a principle he had no very strong temptation to desert; and that the weak part of his otherwise powerful nature—viz., conscientiousness—was then at its strongest, and struggling with no great obstacles for the mastery. Cruelty, new tyranny, on the part of Charles to Wentworth, would have thrown him irrevocably into the popular party, who would have been able to bind him to a noble cause, and fortify his conscience by their sympathy and aid till he had gained sufficient stamina to exist by its own power.

But the wiliness of Charles and his ill-timed softness undermined what no force could have laid low. From a belief in the King's unsolicited yet given love, Wentworth was won. He passionately returned the substance of his whole life, and gave his very soul to the King, for what was, after all, a mere shadow. And only by remembering that not rank or wealth, but the King and the fulfilments of the King's wishes, reigned supreme over every other feeling from henceforth in his heart, shall we be able to comprehend and justly to measure the future career of Lord Wentworth. After Charles, his wife and children were the next objects of his affections. It was to obtain greater power to enforce the King's will that he desired public honours or himself. But it was for his children that he craved

1631. the reflection of these honours; for them that he increased his wealth, enlarged his borders, and toiled, at the cost of inexpressible physical pain, and the prospect by natural decay of the curtailment of many years of life.

His wife found the adoration of the lover only changed into the ceaseless tenderness of the husband, and even while mere infants, the pretty ways and words of his children were recorded for him in documents that lay on his table by the side of the great despatches of the State. His public duties, after his elevation to the dignity of President of the Council of the North, obliged him to be constantly away from his family mansion at York; but there his children lived under the watchful care of faithful and tried guardians, at the head of whom was Sir William Pennyman, who was enjoined constantly to report of their well-being and progress to their anxious parents. Wentworth's wife, the Lady Arabella, was extremely fragile; and her husband, trembling, perhaps, at the remembrance of the manner in which his first had been swept away, could not bear to let her leave his side, even to remain with their children. Even at the time of his most pressing work, he watched personally over her failing health, and both parents were solaced by such accounts of their children as we may obtain some idea of by the following extract from a letter of Sir William Pennyman. At the date of this epistle, William, the eldest child, was between four and five; and Ann, the second, between three and four years old. To understand the allusion, we must note that Wentworth was adding some new buildings to his house at York. After various other matters, Sir William writes:—

“ Now to write that news that I have, which I presume will be most acceptable. Your lordship’s children are all very well, and your lordship need not fear the going forward’ of your building, when you have so careful a steward as Mrs. Ann. She complained to me very much of two rainy days, which, as she said, hindered her from coming down and the building from going up, because she was enforced to keep her chamber, and could not overlook the workmen.” 1631.

Again :—

“ At our arrival at York, we found Mr. William and Mrs. Ann, and all the rest of your lordship’s family, very well. They were not a little glad to receive their tokens, and yet, they said, they would be more glad to receive your lordship and their worthy mother.

“ We all with one vote agreed to their opinion, and wished that your lordship’s occasions might be as swift and speedy in their despatch, as our thoughts and desires are in wishing them.”

Who can fail to see the smile of amused tenderness light up the dark countenance of the Lord-President, and relax his haughty features, as he read such chronicles of the doings and sayings of his little boy and girl, “ Mr. William and Mrs. Ann ? ” Hereafter, I shall be enabled to tell his own feelings about them in his own language ; but, unfortunately, at the present period, I have been unable to obtain any of his letters detailing his wishes and giving his answers to Sir William about his little charges.

But this scene of domestic happiness was soon to be interrupted, and the dark shadow of death to be thrown over the joyous household. The trembling

1631. anxieties of Lord Wentworth proved to have too deep a foundation.

A second son had died in infancy, and, in the month of October, 1631, a second daughter was born, who was named Arabella, after her mother. But four weeks later, the Lady Arabella, the second and most beloved wife of Wentworth, died. Her eldest and only surviving son was carried in the arms of Sir George Radcliffe, the secretary and dear friend of Lord Wentworth, to receive the last benediction of his mother.

The anguish of Lord Wentworth was in proportion to his devoted love; he seemed as if he must sink beneath his load of woe. So distracted was his grief, that for many days and nights in succession, Sir George Radcliffe never left him longer than a few minutes, fearing lest his intellect should fail beneath this terrible bereavement.

And though Wentworth, unable to endure—in addition to the cares of State and the pangs of physical disease—a life of solitude, afterwards formed new ties, yet he never forgot his devoted wife, never spoke of her without the tenderest tribute due to her virtue, her beautiful mind, and affection to himself.

At this very time, too, he detected a conspiracy to detach his friends, by making them believe that, while professing public regard for them, he was secretly trying to gain their offices. Nothing definite is left beyond the fact, though the fury and indignation it aroused all point to something of no light importance, and which may have had greater influence on his future actions than is known. And Wentworth was not a forgiving man. Indeed, forgiveness was an almost unknown virtue in that warlike and dangerous age. Courage, endur-

ance, industry, were the great duties then. And yet one feeling was manifested in all,—very touching, but which has altogether vanished in our own day,—that was, an everywhere-felt and acknowledged sense of the presence of God. In all letters, on every subject, this Name was invoked by the writers as of One beholding them, and what now would be treated as “cant,” was then as much a part of their life as sleep or food. “If God permits” preceded the announcement of an intention; “I thank God for it,” followed that of any good fortune; “God will turn it to good,” of any evil; and so on, applied to the minutest matters. As to being *ashamed* of such language, both writer and reader of letters would have wondered indeed at such an idea. I do not say that this was any proof that they made the will of God their every motive for every act: rather, it was the undoubting feeling of a child, who says its prayers and speaks of God with the same belief in Him as in its parents, as, while ever conscious of their presence, it never stops before its actions to consider whether its parents will approve, but follows its free nature as much as if it had no reference to them, yet still knowing they live. So it was with other feelings. Language which now would be sneered at as only fit for a sentimental novel, was the common style of our ancestors. They were not ashamed of their feelings, and uttered what they felt in the nearest words that sprang to their lips. And what letters were theirs! Modern usages have not only made letter-writing a thing of the past, but a thing to ridicule; and a long letter is received with a profession of horror, and commenced with a yawn at the expense of the writer. But in the olden time, a gentleman would indite an

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1631. epistle of from four to ten folio pages to his family and his friends, filled with precisely the same matter he would have uttered by word of mouth ; and, so far from this being deemed an infliction, it was a dearly-loved right to give and receive. "Out of sight," *could not* have been "out of mind" then. On the contrary, during the whole time of writing and reading these letters, the absent was the one subject of thought. And thus our fathers bequeathed to us an ever-living Individuality, a Presence yet here to those who seek it, that we can never leave to our descendants. The whole history of past England, its deep religion, its mighty valour, its noble wisdom, all the poetry of its life, are yet existent in the letters of the dead. But the history of the present will be that of an abstract theme, of a vast crowd of unknown strangers who have lived in England. Biographies may be multiplied to infinity, telling what the public at large said ; but the individual will not speak of us—will be in person unknown. Not so our forefathers. What volumes are written in the glorious cathedrals—in the village churches—where carven forms silently watch over and tell, as no generalised history can ever do, what manner of mortal lies below ! By his sword, the mailed warrior reminds us of his battles ; of his home, by the clasp of the faithful hand at his side, and his children kneeling around the tomb. The solitary, cross-limbed crusader, the mitred abbot, the stoled statesman, all alike, though dead, yet speak—each bearing the insignia of his work !

CHAPTER VI.

A NEW dignity was in waiting for Lord Wentworth. 1632.
That unhappy country, whose greatness was ever a dream of past illusions, but whose miseries are the always present subject of comment to the whole civilised world, was then in its usual state of destitution, discontent, and bitterness. If anything, it was in worse than its common condition, as it had for some time been without a governor. If ever a man of commanding powers, of sleepless vigilance, of ceaseless industry, and courage that nothing could shake, was needed, it was for Ireland at that time.

Such a man was Lord Wentworth, and it would be difficult to arraign the King's judgment in selecting him for the Lord-Deputy. All who have undertaken to write authoritatively of Ireland have invariably represented such qualities as above named as including all essentials for her governor. Firmness, unswerving rigour, is supposed to be the one thing needful; and, in truth, without it all other qualifications would be hopeless. And firmness, as of a rock of adamant, was possessed by Lord Wentworth. We shall see whether even his splendid abilities were equal to the task, or whether to the stupendous powers he brought

1631. to the undertaking there was any deficiency that could have been supplied by human means.

He was appointed Lord-Deputy in the month of January, 1632; but, though invested with authority, did not arrive in Dublin till the July of 1633.

This new appointment did not involve the abdication of the Presidency of the Council of York. Till the time of his departure for Ireland he continued to fulfil its duties; and when he left, these were performed by a Vice-President.

Thus for eighteen months Lord Wentworth held these two tremendous responsibilities, dividing, without diminishing, his cares between the two countries.

For the sake of clearness, his policy concerning Ireland during the eighteen months preceding his departure for Dublin will be reserved till the termination of his residence in York will allow the narrative to continue in a more unbroken stream. His new appointment is now only mentioned to show what other cares were pressing upon him during the remaining period at York.

One of the most extraordinary ways of raising money by the King at this period was as follows:—According to ancient custom, a relic of the feudal times, whenever a king was crowned, he had the power to summon every man who for the past three years had enjoyed an income of forty pounds per annum, to receive the honour of knighthood and perform its services. But as titles then involved most cumbersome duties and expenses—an honour which, in our day, would be eagerly sought for at the same price many times multiplied—was often gladly bought

off by paying a sum of money to the King,—much in the same manner that a civilian drawn into the army now buys himself a substitute. But numbers also simply disregarded the summons, and left the fine unpaid. This had occurred to a great degree among those who dwelt in the more remote counties, and had been called to receive the unwelcome title at the coronation of Charles. And Lord Wentworth was resolved to be as stern with the recusant knights as with the recusant Roman Catholics, the matter not only being under his jurisdiction, but himself one of the Commissioners appointed to collect the fines. It was a miserable office. The last President had been so easy over the matter that the defaulters were to be found in all quarters, and many indebted for large arrears, which they deemed a matter of the past, never more to be inquired into. They were soon undeceived. Not the Catholics themselves were called to the bar more sternly than these defaulters in knightly duty. But to bring them to account was a far more difficult matter than the Catholics. In the latter case, all the Protestants were with Wentworth, one of the charges against Charles by the popular party being that he purposely released the law against Popish recusants on account of his own inclinations that way. But the knights' fine was detested, as affecting all classes, and as a greedy perquisite of the King. But yet it was a legal fine, and there was now no Parliament to get rid of such law as a "grievance." Nothing remained but evasion, rebellion, and every safe means of avoiding the fine ; while constant mistakes occurred in the payments. One of these now must be mentioned as an early link in the lengthening chain that had already

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1632. begun its coil around the Lord-President, and affords one of the many examples of the distance of time to which an idle word can echo.

Sir Thomas Layton, High Sheriff for the county of York, was one of the collectors of the fines. In discharge of his office, he called upon a gentleman named Wivel and demanded the fine. Wivel told him he had already paid it, and showed the receipt of the Lord-President for the same. Notwithstanding this, Layton insisted on payment; and, on the refusal of Wivel, levied an execution on his goods to the amount of £39, with the fee of £2 for himself—probably the cause of his zeal. Wivel at once made his complaint to Lord Wentworth. Sir Thomas Layton was instantly summoned before the President and Council of York. On receiving the summons, he showed it to a friend, named Sir David Foulis, whose words on the matter were the occasion of farther mischief, to be named hereafter. Layton did not obey the summons, and was, consequently, within three days, arrested and brought before the Council, where he was committed for trial for contempt of Court. On this occasion, in alluding to the general dissatisfaction at the fines, Lord Wentworth said the defaulters ought rather to be glad that the King for a fixed sum condoned their default; for should he proceed against them in a Court, the mere expenses alone would be thrice the amount of the fines, and they would find “*the little finger of the law heavier than the King’s loins.*”

This expression was treasured up with the usual accuracy of such records, leaving a rankling poison in the hearts of those to whom they were addressed, of which the speaker was all too unaware.

The next case was one of far greater importance.

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The Sir David Foulis above named was a man of very high position in Yorkshire. A deputy-lieutenant, a justice of the peace, a member of the Council of the North, he was assuredly bound to the utmost caution in his language. But it was now reported to the Council, that not only had he been the means of preventing the appearance of Layton by his advice not to answer the summons till he had first written to the King, but that he was in the habit of sneering both at the Court and President in the most contemptuous manner ; and, so far from collecting the fines of which he was a commissioner, he had done all in his power to prevent them from being paid. He had called the Court of York a "paper court," and declared a justice of the peace (alluding to himself) above the Council, as the latter was appointed by Act of Parliament, the former only by commission ; and he did not care who heard him say so.

That at a public meeting, held at the house of Layton, some time before, to discuss the fines of recusant knights, he said, among other things, to dissuade from paying :—

"That Yorkshire gentlemen had been in time past accounted and held stout-spirited men, and would have stood for their rights and liberties, and were wont to be the worthiest of all other shires in the kingdom. And that in former times all other shires did depend, and would direct all their great actions by that county : and that other counties, for the most part, followed and imitated Yorkshire. But now, in these days, Yorkshiremen were become degenerate, more dastardly and more cowardly, than men of other counties—

1631. wanting their wonted courage and spirit which they formerly used to have."

As to the Lord President, Sir David declared that,—

"The people of Yorkshire adored Lord Wentworth, and were so timorous and fearful to offend his lordship, that they would undergo any charge rather than displease him. His lordship was much respected in Yorkshire, but at Court he was no more respected than an ordinary man, and that as soon as his back was turned for Ireland, his place of Presidentship of the Council would be bestowed on another man."

Far more galling than all, both Sir David Foulis and his son, Henry Foulis, were reported to have said,—

"That Lord Wentworth had received much money of the country for knighthood fines by virtue of his commission, and that his lordship had not paid the same either to his Majesty or the exchequer."

Also,—

"That when Lord Viscount Wentworth was gone into Ireland, all such as had paid their fines to his lordship, although they had his lordship's acquittance for the same, yet they would and should be forced to pay the same over again to his Majesty's use." *

Lord Wentworth has been in all quarters abused as a malignant despot in this case. But it would be well to remember that the reported utterer, besides the other positions which invested him with such influence among the dangerous classes, was actually a member of the Council, and entitled to listen to and share in its most secret proceedings. Imagine such language

* Somers's Tracts, vol. iv.

reported by "knights, gentlemen, and others," to have been uttered by one of the occupants of the Bench concerning one of his fellow-judges—especially the words relating to the money, it will make it hardly seem very tyrannical to some that the two Foulises, father and son, were summoned before the Council of York, and, the evidence being deemed sufficient, they were committed for trial before the Court of the Star Chamber. 1631.

No doubt the knighthood fines were a hateful and detested exaction; but, then, the exaction was legal—and how many a judge in the present day is forced to order the execution of a law not made by himself, and of which he totally disapproves!

Again, the Court of the Star Chamber was one of the most fearful engines of injustice ever created. But neither did Lord Wentworth make that nor the ordinance which placed the culprits before its bar.

Foulis, finding that his reckless conduct was likely to end badly for himself, tried to compromise matters, and would have explained away his words. But he had gone too far. A much milder man than Wentworth might be excused for declining a private interview, and insisting on a legal satisfaction. And Wentworth was in a painful position. His nature was one that could not slur over any undertaking: however odious his task, he must perform it. As it was, the supineness of his predecessor had made the bare fulfilment of the laws seem like the harshest tyranny. Constant attempts to dispute or evade the authority of his Court kept him in a state of irritation. And appeals to the King to set aside his decisions were made in other matters than those of the recusant fines.

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To all his difficulties Foulis had heavily added, and Wentworth felt it with all the bitterness of an irritable nature justly exasperated.

To his friend, the Earl of Carlisle, he often relieved his feelings by letters.

The trial of Foulis was not finished till the plaintiff had left England, and the result will be hereafter related.

Meanwhile, the Lord President continued his efforts to reduce the North to obedience. His experience of government there was not a bad apprenticeship to the scarcely more difficult task of Ireland. From time immemorial the Northerners of England had proved stubborn and rebellious.

"What," said Mr. Hyde, "have the good people of the North done, that they should be singled out for this?"

The answer might safely be—"A very great deal." Hardly a new law or change of Government took place that had not to be for some time maintained by force there. And the very institution of the Northern Commission was rendered necessary, because the people persisted in upholding the forbidden monasteries.

During the Presidency of Lord Sheffield, they were quiet, simply because they had their own way; but the resolution of his successor to rule in reality, resulted in ceaseless bickering, punishment, and appeal. In the Record Office may still be seen long letters of five folio pages in the hand of Lord Wentworth, recounting his troubles and begging for more authority.* The limits of our space forbid the transcription of these documents, but the contents show that, to carry out his

* These letters, with others still in MS., it is my hope, at some future time, to print and edit.—E.C.

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orders, the power he demanded was fully needed : and that his only choice lay between resignation or greater means of enforcing his authority. The rock on which his vessel struck was this, that he appealed to the wrong source. The Parliament alone could set him right. But the Parliament was not sitting, and he had not the support of the nation to uphold his most necessary acts of severity. He had lost the love of his former comrades, and secret as well as open enemies beset him on all sides—men who were not Patriots, who opposed him from no love of liberty, but a base desire of doing him injury, placing his deeds in a false light, and casting every obstacle in his path.

A new commission now arrived from London. On the death or removal of one of the members of the Council, it was usual to send a new copy of the original commission ; and this appears to have been by no means a literal copy, but altered according to the King's will.

This time, to the original instructions was added the authority "to hear and determine all offences, misdemeanours, suits, debates, controversies, demands, causes, things, and matters whatsoever therein contained," within certain precincts of the Northern parts.

But the crowning order gave the President and Council power "to hear and determine divers offences according to the course of the Star Chamber, *whether provided for by Act of Parliament or not*, so that the fines imposed be not less than those appointed by the Act." They could hear complaints according to the course of the Chancery, settle lands, leases, and other things, and stay the course of common law by injunction. They could send a serjeant-at-arms, and attach

1632. in any part of the realm. No prohibition could be granted by the Court of Westminster against the Court of York.*

It is needless to continue. Of fifty-eight instructions, Lord Clarendon declares there was hardly one that was not illegal and out of the power of the King to send. But the defiance of Parliament, the erection of a Star Chamber to absolutely trample on the Petition of Right, that noble ratification of the declared liberties of the people for which it was but a few short years ago the glory of Lord Wentworth to struggle, was such, that no man without a public recantation of his former opinions, and a statement that he believed himself in error for his part in supporting that Petition, could with honour receive such a commission as this. But two courses were open to him—either to show that he had honestly changed his opinions, or instantly to resign his office, unless sanctioned by a Parliament.

Lord Wentworth did neither: and from that most miserable hour he became the high-placed mark for the hatred of all the brothers of liberty; while England veiled her face before the hopeless dishonour of him who should have been her greatest, noblest son.

* See Rushworth, 8vo, 4.

CHAPTER VII.

1632

It was in January, 1632, that Lord Wentworth was appointed Lord-Deputy of Ireland. That his departure to the seat of his government was delayed for eighteen months was owing to a very different cause to that enforced dilatoriness arising from want of supplies, fixed instructions, and the hindrances that so often beset an officer in the discharge of his duty. The delay was by his own desire, and for the wisest of purposes. He knew himself to be ignorant of the exact condition of Ireland, and, as it was not his intention to live there in idle state while things went on their accustomed course, he resolved first, as far as he could, before going, to make himself acquainted with her wants and difficulties, and the best way of meeting and subduing them. And that other question, too, how far could Ireland be made useful to the King?—now, alas! the uppermost in his thoughts—needed to be preliminarily studied.

These, then, were the two problems he meant to solve:—1. How to govern Ireland so as to draw forth and make the most of her natural resources, to convert her soil from a plague spot of idleness and misery into a land teeming with prosperity. 2. How to rear here that prosperous despotism, that patriarchal rule,

1632. which the English refused to accept. The question arises—did he blend with these a third resolution to make the people happy and virtuous, to the best of his abilities, looking to the two first proposals as a means to such an end? This question must be left to his own words and deeds for reply.

The first few notes of warning were sent to England on the 10th of January, by General Lord Wilmot, who had for many years commanded the English troops in Ireland, and who had indulged in the hopes of being himself chosen for the highest dignity of the island. Manfully stifling his disappointment when the news arrived of Lord Wentworth's appointment, he at once hastened to offer his advice and warning. He bade him beware of, from any economical motive, attempting to lessen the present small army, as some of his predecessors had done. He gave anything but a flattering opinion of the Irish. By fair means, he said, nothing was to be obtained from them; by a small force, some little thing might be had; but by a powerful show of troops, everything might be obtained. That it should be thought needful to warn against lessening the army sounds strange indeed, when it at this time consisted only of two thousand foot and four hundred horse, divided into companies of fifties. It is strange that so few troops were able to maintain the peace at all. They were the sole protection of the English; by them the taxes were gathered, the Irish refusing to pay anything voluntarily, and without them, the faintest attempt at maintaining a court of justice was in vain.

Wilmot next strongly counselled that the Lord-Deputy should come with the means to enforce what-

ever he undertook, nothing in Ireland being done without compulsion. And, finally, that as the pay for the army could be managed from the taxes till the next Christmas, Lord Wentworth would do well to employ that time in providing means for the next year.*

With Lord Wilmot's opinion Wentworth heartily agreed. He now commenced his inquiries and precautions. The first thing to know was the condition of the revenue. Accordingly, a letter was sent to the Lords-Justices Ely and Cork, telling them to transmit an exact estimate of the amount of revenue to be derived from every possible source in Ireland. To state the proportion furnished by each county, how much had been paid and how much remained unpaid, what debts were owing to the Crown, and what were its own liabilities.

1. They were desired to furnish suggestions how to best maintain the army; how the revenue might be increased and the expenses lessened; and to add to these any advice of their own.

2. Next, in addition to a general description of the state of the country, was to learn the condition of the arsenals, the number and quality of weapons, and the quantity of ammunition.

3. How the coasts were guarded, and what precautions were taken against the pirates with which the seas swarmed.

4. The condition of the Castle of Dublin, the residence of the Lord-Deputy. On this matter Wentworth was very particular, always considering outward state as a necessary engine of government.

* Letter of Lord Wilmot, i., 62.

1632. 5. The condition of the Protestant churches, which were said to be greatly dilapidated.

6. The state of the official seals.

This last question well illustrates the details which Lord Wentworth considered a part of his duty.

These will give some idea of the care with which the Lord-Deputy took to inform himself, and must have greatly startled the officials, and proved to them that the reports of his energy were not exaggerated. He found that the revenue was in so uncertain a condition that it could not be guessed at. The contribution promised by the Irish to support the army was only part paid, and the rest likely to remain in arrear, owing to the King having broken the promise by which he obtained it. The arsenals were miserably deficient, the coasts guarded only by a couple of pinnaces, which the Lords-Justices declared were all the country could afford, while they were in daily expectation that some Moorish pirates would swoop down on their shores and carry away the inhabitants for slaves. The Castle was in a ruinous condition, the Lords-Justices adding the agreeable intelligence that one of the worst parts was that appointed for the Lord-Deputy's habitation, and that it was no sooner repaired in one part than it became decayed in another, and could only be rendered habitable by having a large sum of money spent on it, which sum could not be afforded by Ireland, too poor to pay for a proper house for her own governor. The churches were in such a state that one of them was used as a stable for the Lord-Deputy's horses. The very seals of office were so old as to bear the image of King James instead of Charles, and the three pursuivants, messengers of

state, were in shabby coats, there being nothing to spend on a royal scarlet livery ! 1632.

Such was the lively picture presented to Lord Wentworth, a man about to appear as the representative of royalty, and who more than any other required the utmost magnificence in everything connected with the State. The account of the castle, especially to one in his feeble health, needing all the luxuries and precautions that can enable a man to work under that burden, must have sent a chill through his frame, and given him in anticipation a pang of physical pain as he thought of his torturing fits of gout.

To put a stop to the management which produced such results was the first necessary act.

An order was, therefore, sent to the Lords-Justices requiring them not to pass any pardons, offices, lands, or church livings, by grant under the Great Seal of Ireland ; nor to confer knighthood on any, nor to dispose of any company, of horse or foot ; but merely, till the arrival of the Lord-Deputy, to look to the ordinary administration of civil justice and the general government.*

Lord Wentworth next obtained the following conditions of the King :—

1. That no reward for any service whatever should be granted to any man before the revenue of Ireland should be fully able to meet every expense, and to pay every debt now owing.

2. That no grant of any nature should be made without the knowledge of the Lord-Deputy, and without first passing the Great Seal of Ireland.

3. That none but the fittest men should be allowed

* The King to the Lords-Justices, i., 63.

1632. to sit at the Council, to fill the Bishoprics, to sit on the Bench, and be admitted to the Privy Council; and that none should be appointed to fill these offices without the advice of the Lord-Deputy, who was to name the most deserving men.

4. That no complaint of injustice or oppression should be made to the King until it had first been made to the Lord-Deputy.

5. That no confirmation of any grant of reversion of office already made, or any new grant of reversion of office, should for the future be allowed.

6. That all places, whether civil or military, in the gift of the Lord-Deputy should be left entirely to his disposal, and that the King should refuse any request made to himself for such places.

7. That no new office should be erected in Ireland without the Lord-Deputy's knowledge and approbation.*

Nothing could be more just and reasonable than these demands of Lord Wentworth. It seems wonderful that he should have needed to make such stipulations. To these he added the following secret conditions, which also were granted :—

1. That all proposals from the Lord-Deputy touching the revenue might be directed to the Lord-Treasurer of England, without acquainting the rest of the Committee for Irish affairs.

2. That all other despatches for Ireland should be read by one of the secretaries only.

3. That Lord Falkland, the late Lord-Deputy, should

* Strafford Papers, i., 63.

be required to deliver, in writing, an exact statement of what he conceived to be the present condition of Ireland, with an account of such plans as he had left uncompleted at his departure, with his advice as to how they might best be carried out. 1632.

4. That of the public proposals made by Lord Wentworth, as many as the King might approve should be read at the Council Board, in order that they might be publicly known.

The opinion of Lord Wilmot that nothing could be accomplished without an army, was a truth at once recognised by Lord Wentworth. Therefore, the first thing to be done was to provide a temporary provision for the support of the soldiers until some regular and certain means could be devised. The only means the Lords-Justices could propose, was to enforce the fine of twelpence imposed on every Catholic who absented himself from a Protestant church on Sundays.

Lord Wentworth did not approve of this plan, he had a better one in his own mind; nevertheless, the Lords-Justices were taken at their word. A letter was written to them expressing surprise at the lack of zeal displayed in raising funds for a purpose declared by themselves to be so needful; but, while they were told not to seize for the fines till the present money was exhausted, all was to be in readiness against the hour of need. To these were added strict orders that no new expense was to be incurred, and no payments made; whatever ready money remained was to be left in the exchequer till the arrival of the Lord-Deputy.

Lord Wentworth now proceeded to test the truth of the words of the Lords-Justices, that there were no

1632. other means of raising the money for the army than by means of the Sunday fine.

He quietly sent off an agent, himself a Roman Catholic, "to feel the pulse of the Irish," and if it beat as desired, a proposal was to be made that if they would contribute half a subsidy, at the same rate as before, no fines should be imposed, and the matter rest till the arrival of the Lord-Deputy.* As by far the less of two evils, the Catholics agreed to the subsidy, and promised to pay £20,000, in four instalments. Thus the army was peaceably provided for the present. Notwithstanding the reputation of the Lord-Deputy, as yet the officers of state of Ireland scarcely realised his character.

Of course, though the orders to the Lords-Justices were from Wentworth, they were all sent in the name of the King. The last letter was not pleasing to the Lords Ely and Cork. They were bigoted Protestants, and would have preferred raising the funds required by the means of the Catholic fine. Also, the ease with which the voluntary contribution had been raised, was a severe reflection on their own statement of its impossibility.

They thought fit to disobey orders in more than one matter.

Though the last orders had been sent in April, they had been utterly neglected till October, when still no answer was returned. And though expressly commanded to issue no new payments, but leave all ready money in the exchequer, they had given forth a large sum to Sir Francis Cook.

If they flattered themselves that the fact of their

* Letter to Lord Cottington, i., 74.

having, for a time, performed the office of the Lord-Deputy himself, any more than their own dignity as Lords-Justices, would shield them from the rebuke possible to any meaner men, they were soon undeceived. 1632.

After communicating with Lord Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in London, Wentworth despatched a stern epistle to the delinquents at Dublin, wherein, having recounted the nature of their shortcoming, he added :—

“Pardon me, my lords, if in the discharge of my own duty I be transported beyond my natural modesty and moderation and the respects I personally bear your lordships, plainly to let you know I shall not connive at such a presumption in you, thus to evacuate my master’s directions, nor contain myself in silence, seeing them before my face so slighted, or, at least, laid aside, it seems, very little regarded.

“Therefore, I must, in a just contemplation of his Majesty’s honour and wisdom, crave leave to advise you forthwith to amend your error by entering and publishing that letter as it is commanded you, or I must, for my own safety, acquaint his Majesty with all ; and I pray God the keeping it close all this while be not in the sequel imputed unto you as a mighty disservice to his Majesty, and which you may be highly answerable for.”*

He then ordered them immediately to send over the book containing an account of the debts.

Another culprit was Lord Mountmorris, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, who, having lately married a

* Letter of the Lord-Deputy to the Lords-Justices, i., 77.

1632. relation of the late Lady Wentworth, thought he might safely idle away his time at Chester, leaving his duties to wait for him in Ireland. To him Lord Wentworth wrote to depart at once, and if his wife was not able to start immediately, he must leave her behind in charge of a friend and go without her, and Lord Wentworth would undertake, if necessary, to see her safely to Dublin.*

The next thing to be done was to order all the officers belonging to Irish regiments, who were absent in England, immediately to return to their duties in Ireland, and at once commence exercising and drilling their troops. All who failed, after due notice, were to be deprived, first, of their entertainment, and afterwards, if this did not bring them to their duty, they were to be cashiered. No captain, for the future, was, under any pretence whatever, to quit his troop without special permission of the Lord-Deputy.†

This order will give some idea of the state of discipline in the army at this period; indeed, nothing more required reform than that. And we may here remark, that when Cromwell afterwards pointed out to Hampden the superiority of the King's troops, his words applied only to the officers, not the men. No sooner had Cromwell thoroughly disciplined his men than the common soldiers of the King fell like chaff before them. Lord Wentworth saw this need as well as Cromwell, and, had he lived to command the royal army in the Civil War, there can be little doubt that this great inequality would not have remained. He now, in reprimanding the officers for their absence,

* Letter to Lord Mountmorris, i., 73.

† Letter of the King, i., 15.

pointed out how vain it was to expect order and discipline in the men, unless the officers themselves observed it. And he had first to reduce the officers to that order and obedience to their duties, in which they seem to have been so miserably deficient. 1633.

Having made every preparation, in this manner, to correct the visible abuses that had their root in England, Lord Wentworth now wound up his affairs in the North, and left nothing undone to make the way clear for Sir Edward Osborne, who was to rule as his Vice-President. His Yorkshire estates he placed under the care of his trusty friend and tutor, Mr. Greenwood, and he did not forget his President's house, which, like everything else that came beneath his hand, he left greatly improved, adding to it a chapel and a gallery, and enlarging the park. Nor did he omit to take measures that those who had fallen under his displeasure should not escape punishment by his departure, and his directions concerning them were as special as about the most important matters. Particularly, he left all clear for the trial of the two Foulises.

At length, all finally settled in England, his baggage sent before him, he was preparing to follow, when he was compelled to wait on account of the pirates who suddenly, in more than usual strength, appeared in the Irish seas. No less than four notorious robbers were in sight—one close to Dublin, and how many more were cruising, none could say. No doubt, hearing of the intended voyage of the Lord-Deputy, they were attracted by the scent of prey. They were not disappointed. Of the vessels sent first with his baggage, they took one with goods to the amount of £4000, and linen alone that cost him £500.*

* Letter to the Lord Treasurer, i., 89.

1633.

He had every reason to believe that they had taken another, with all his wearing apparel, to the value of 500*l.* more, a heavy sum in those days. To add to his indignation came the news that a pirate had chased a vessel on shore, near Dublin, and, having forced her aground there, first rifled her, and then set her on fire in spite of the feeble attempts at succour of the Lords-Justices, who sent men to the shore, but who on their own coast, with all the resources of their country, and with foreknowledge of the enemy, were utterly powerless to interfere with one pirate ship of sixty tons. No wonder that all trade on the sea was, for the time, stopped. And all this in the first month of summer.

“By my faith,” said Lord Wentworth on hearing the news of his loss, “this is but a cold welcome they bring me, withal, to that coast. And yet I am glad, at least, that they escaped my plate. But the fear I had to be thought to linger here unprofitably, forced me to make this venture, when now I wish I had had a little more care of my goods as well as of my person. And yet,” he added characteristically, “the loss and misery of this is not so great as the scorn that such a picking villain as this should dare to do these insolences in the face of that state, and to pass away without control.” And well might he say: “If there be not a more timely and constant course held hereafter in setting forth the ships for guarding the coast there, by the Admiralty here, the money paid for that purpose thence is absolutely cast away. The farmers of the customs will be directly undone, and *the whole kingdom grow beggarly and barbarous for want of trade and commerce.*” *

* Letter to the Lord Treasurer.

It is worth pausing to note the last sentence flowing with the usual depth and volume from the mouth of the proudest aristocrat in the land. No narrow, ignorant sneers from that many-sided mind about the "vulgarity of trade." At once, and in a sentence, he identifies it with the fate of kingdoms. And we shall find that, in the same intellect, art and poetry hold also their due place, their sphere also acknowledged with like honour. 1633.

O, that in such a soul conscience should have found no dwelling! It was as if some divine artist had been created with transcendent powers to comprehend and pourtray, and yet been stricken with blindness!

We have given the conditions stipulated by Wentworth before he would undertake the office of Lord-Deputy, and solemnly granted by Charles; and that of these, one of the most important was, that no grant of any kind should be made till the Irish revenue covered expenses and paid all past debts.

Yet so incorrigible was the King in his contempt of his promises that, even before Wentworth had quitted England, while he was waiting for a ship of war to guard him from the pirates across the Channel, he was informed that Charles was listening to an application from Lord Carlisle for a grant "of the concealments of Munster." *

Wentworth was highly excited by the news, and at once wrote an earnest letter to the King to remind him of his promise, and point out the hopeless mischief that must arise if it were not kept. It was all the more painful, as Lord Carlisle was a personal friend of

* The Lord-Deputy to the King, i., 92.

1633. his own. "God knows," said Wentworth to the King, "how much I honour him, and how freely I should lay down both my life and fortune to express it; but all other interests, whether his or my own, shall ever be found light with me when those of your Majesty fall in balance. Thus am I constrained hereby to signify unto your Majesty, that should this grant pass, it would turn extremely much to your prejudice."

Lest matters should already have gone too far, Wentworth showed that, even if the grant were received, so little would come to Lord Carlisle after his agents had "carried away the best part of it," that he would make it worth his while to renounce it, in any case.* He was but just in time, and this was not the only difficulty of this nature.

While waiting at Chester, which was then the port of embarkation for Ireland, Wentworth found time to write to the King on a scheme which had for some time occupied his fertile mind, and one which seemed fraught with inestimable blessings for Ireland. This was to provision the Spanish fleets, which yearly traded between Spain and the West Indies, from the natural productions of Ireland. At present this trade was in the possession of Hamburg, but Wentworth saw that the same commodities might be furnished at a much cheaper rate from Ireland, whose ports were also much nearer to Spain. With his eyes not fixed on one view alone, but ever open to all prospects, Wentworth pointed out, not merely the wealth, but the civilisation, that would ensue. "They seem now," said he, "only to want foreign commerce to make them

* Letter to the King, i., 93.

a civil, rich, and contented people, and, consequently, more easily governed by your Majesty's Ministers under the dictates of your wisdom, and the more profitably for your Crown, than in a savage and poor condition." 1632.

He dwelt on this plan with exulting hope; he believed himself able to make it the commencement of an ever-increasing prosperity to both King and people, branching out into other streams which also should fertilise as they flowed.*

He told the King (who had previously given him full liberty to carry out his idea) that he had made such progress with his project as to have quite won the approbation of the Commissioner of the King of Spain, who, on his part, had obtained permission from his sovereign to carry it out. The treaty was ready for conclusion, and nothing remained but to consider the sorts, quantities, and prices of the various articles, and the times and places of their delivery. For this Lord Wentworth waited till his arrival in Ireland, in order to satisfy himself on this point.

This scheme he looked upon as a success already, and found himself free to impart another idea—viz., that of making the cultivation of flax and hemp, and their manufacture, a staple of Ireland. And to remedy the extreme scarcity of coin there, which was a great hindrance and mischief to trade inland, he even spoke with confidence of setting up a mint.

"And surely," he exclaimed, with an impulse with which it is impossible not to sympathise, "if we be able to finish and go through with this undertaking, I will hope to leave your subjects there in much happier condition than I found them!"

* Letter to the King, i., 93.

1633. Not so, however, with another part of his plan, which—like so much in Lord Wentworth's work—supplies a supplement of pain to the pleasure that went before. In order that poor Ireland might not, under these new conditions, become so prosperous as to break from her dependence on the sister country, he resolved that all the wool manufactures of Ireland should be stopped, in order to compel her to purchase them of England. The Irish were not to be allowed to weave and spin their own wool, but this same wool was first to be taken to England, where it was to pay a heavy duty, and when turned into cloth carried back to Ireland, where again a duty was to be imposed, thus absolutely doubling the customs.*

Far more cruel, and outweighing any single benefit, was the second bond of dependence. This was to place the whole trade of salt in the hands of the King. Not only would this bring him in an enormous revenue from the salt consumed in the preparation of the projected export of Irish provisions, but—as the people existed to a great degree on dried and salted food, and, especially in a Catholic country, on salt fish—this was to make them depend for their very existence upon the will of the King. What mattered the millions of tons of salt offered by their own land, or their cattle upon a thousand hills, with two such laws as these! Their food and clothing were only to be obtained from the King on his own terms. And such a King, whose one first object had hitherto been money at any cost, whether of truth and honour to himself, or life and liberty to his subjects! Such a power would be to him most ravishing.

* Letter to the King by the Lord-Deputy.

But, bold as was the Lord Wentworth, it is to be wondered at that even he should venture on the idea of such a monopoly as this of salt. That it was possible, he concluded from the precedent of France. And he does not appear to have propounded it with a view to distressing the people by enhancing the price, but simply as a tie of authority. Looking at it as a bare fact, stripped of all surrounding circumstances, it seems difficult to conceive of anything more monstrous. Nevertheless, it is to be questioned whether he recognised it as an evil and tyrannical act. And in judging it, we, too, must do what has rarely been done with Lord Wentworth—(who is almost invariably measured by the standard of the nineteenth century)—regard it in the light of his own time, and by those manners and customs. 1633.

How utterly helpless was Ireland at this period, even the few facts we have mentioned are enough to show. The lax hand with which the reins had been held, the few troops maintained, the small portion really under authority, had left scope for native vigour, if it had existed. Yet we have seen the country unable to hold its own against one single barbarian pirate ship, while a few of the same species cruising round the coasts were sufficient to put all marine trade to a stop, and play the same part as the Danes to England in olden times. One with the resistless energy and courage of Lord Wentworth, felt like a man among unruly children, who are unfit and unable to use the liberty which is the right of a full-grown being. Only his was hardly a paternal feeling. Contempt, rather than pity, was awakened by the miserable spectacle. For while the Irish were unable to maintain their liberty alone,

1633. they yet threw off the yoke of England at every opportunity, and, unless bound by some resistless tie, there was little prospect of steady progress. For there was no bond of affection, nor any possibility of it, so long as Ireland was really spiritually ruled by the foreign potentate of Rome. As to the wrong of monopoly itself, in those days free trade was a thing unknown. Sir Walter Raleigh, that mirror of chivalry, had esteemed it no dishonour to accept monopolies from the Queen. And this burden Ireland had to bear in common with England, without the advantages now promised, for the first time, of cultivating to the utmost her own natural resources. The unpardonable part was, what was as well known then as now, what Lord Wentworth had proved himself to have known—the regarding the people as the servants of the King, instead of the King as the representative of the people.

CHAPTER VIII.

AT length, the perilous voyage over, Lord Wentworth 1633.
found himself installed in the Castle of Dublin. The accounts received in England of the condition of Ireland, he found amply verified on his arrival. He declared the officers of the Crown to be the most absolutely selfish men he had ever come in contact with ; and so little could he count on their help, that, unless he were himself entirely trusted and supported by the King, there would be little chance of amending matters as they stood at present.

The army he found to be almost nominal in all things, whether regarding numbers, weapons, or discipline. Everything else was in similar condition. So that, when he first looked at matters, he declared himself almost affrighted at the magnitude of his task of reform. Things must have been bad, indeed, to have affrighted Lord Wentworth.*

Obedience, absolute and undisputed, he already looked upon as the first condition of improvement. Nor would the most generous patriot disagree with him in that opinion, provided it involved no more than strict obedience to laws expanding with the mind of the country, anxiously deliberated and ever passed

* The Lord-Deputy to the Lord-Treasurer, i., 96.

1633. with a view to the highest moral and social good.

But while he did indeed come with the full intention of, as he said, leaving the Irish in a happier condition than he found them, yet, already, the good of the country held the second—the worldly desires of the King the first place in his heart. Nevertheless, it was impossible for a mind of so much energy and regularity, under any circumstances, to behold such a scene of helpless confusion, and not be impelled by the very impulses of its nature, earnestly and immediately to commence the work of restoration. In truth, to utter a seeming paradox, his mind was too sternly orderly, too unchangeably fixed, even in what he honestly believed to be the good of others, for any but an all-perfect being, implying, as it did, an immaculate knowledge of the hearts and the minds of men. And this blind presumption and confidence in his own judgment, we shall find, it was that led him, while striving with his very life and soul to ensure the earthly happiness of the royal friend to whom he was devoted, if ever one being was to another, in reality, to become his worst and surest enemy, yet remaining all unconscious of the fact.

On the 16th of July, he was at Chester, eagerly propounding to the King, in writing, the details of his plan for commerce with Spain. By the 3rd of August, he had arrived in Dublin, and already commenced active operations.

His first deed was to set in his own person—and while the novelty of his arrival lent him additional influence—the example of that obedience and reverence for authority he was so anxious to inculcate. Accordingly, declaring himself nothing but a private person

until his inauguration, he was careful to pay a visit of respect to the Lords-Justices. The next example he placed before them, which was still more needed, was one to shame the dilatoriness of the officers of State. On the afternoon of the same day, he took his oath, and, with all due solemnity, was invested with the sword of state. Thus armed for the battle, he took his rank as representative of the King.

The next day, he summoned a full Council, commanding all the judges to join his councillors; and as they were on the eve of their circuits, he delivered to each a letter declaring the means to be adopted to secure a revenue, which letter was to be publicly read at the next assizes.*

This document struck a chill to many a heart. The contribution promised by the Catholics was limited to £20,000; and it had been strictly understood that not only was it to replace the hated Sunday tax, but it was, in itself, only to serve as a temporary expedient till a plan could be found for a permanent revenue out of which the army was to be supported in an effective manner.

When we think of the actual condition of Ireland at this time; of the hordes of banditti that were a scourge to the country, far beyond those of the Southern nations at the present day; of the insecurity of life and property on land and sea from foreign barbarians; of the very children kidnapped and carried into slavery; it might astonish us that the Irish themselves did not choose the protection of an army, and voluntarily maintain it in preference to such an existence. But if

* Letter of the Lord-Deputy to Mr. Secretary Coke, i., 97.

1633. the character of the King's soldiers was what we have seen it represented in England, it was, if possible, worse in Ireland, where to the other evils was added the recklessness arising from bad food, bad clothing, long arrears of pay, and nothing that could be called discipline, where the men were forcibly pressed in what to them was foreign service, and every feeling of humanity was quenched by centuries of national hate,—there will be little cause for surprise that the Irish preferred even their miserable chances of escape to a ceaseless and hopeless thralldom.

But as one of Lord Wentworth's first objects was to reform and civilise the army, and to civilise and protect the Irish was impossible without an army, he can scarcely be blamed for demanding that it should be supported by themselves.

What, then, was the objection against a scheme so manifestly necessary?

Alas! the old answer must be given. The same guilty, hopeless duplicity—the same shameless and infectious spirit of falsehood and dishonour that was fast goading England to civil war—had been practised on the feebler, and consequently more ferocious, Irish. Lord Falkland, who during the first years of the reign of Charles acted as Lord-Deputy, found the country as wretched as ever. Like Wentworth, he saw that nothing could be done without reinforcing the army, and, like Wentworth, he met with the usual lack of funds. Charles—who was at that moment quarrelling with the English, and getting rid of their Parliaments for much the same grievances—said that the army must be increased and maintained by quartering the troops on the people. Unable to resist, the Irish

offered a voluntary contribution for their support, precisely as the English offered their subsidies, on condition of redress of wrongs. One hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be paid quarterly in sums of ten thousand, were promised, if the King would, in return, grant "certain graces," as they were called, of which the most important resembled those of the English petition, consisting of relief from the billeting of troops, that undertakers should be allowed to fulfil the conditions of their leases, that a possession of sixty years should give a legal claim to an estate, the constant expulsion on the ground of a faulty title, no matter how old, being one of the most cruel wrongs practised on the Irish. But chiefly and most justly, the Union not having then taken place, they desired a Parliament to sanction these exchanges. 1663.

As in England, the need of supplying the money squandered in the past, and to be more wickedly squandered in future, made Charles agree. Anything to get the money, and then any excuse, or none at all, would do for breaking his promise. A large portion of the money was given him by the unhappy Irish, as the English had given him the money for the Petition of Right. The result was the same. As soon as his fingers had closed upon the gold, an old Act of Parliament was raked up by which it had been declared needful for the English Council to sanction the Irish Parliament.* Looking on this as a trivial formality, Lord Falkland had not thought it needful to fulfil it. But the plea was seized on, the Irish Parliament de-

* This was called Poynings' Act, from the name of Sir Edward Poynings' who procured it.

1633. clared illegal, and money enough for the present obtained, like the Petition of Right, the King's promise was flung to the winds. More fortunate than the English, who had been juggled out of the whole of their subsidies, the Irish had only paid a portion, though a large portion, and resolutely and justly refused to pay the rest. Lord Falkland was recalled, and for the few years between his return and Wentworth's appointment, Ireland sank yet lower under the feeble temporary rule of the Lords-Justices.

With the paper presented to the judges for the reminding of those who had failed in the contribution, was another, giving notice, that the King had appointed a commission to be held to inquire into the legal tenure of all titles of estates.

This was very ominous. Many were quite conscious of no title to their lands beyond the inheritance from some not very remote ancestor, who had seized them with a lawless hand during the time of rebellion. Others could not make good their title, perhaps, from the destruction of the deeds. And those who were legally safe trembled at the expense of proving their just rights.

There could be no moral objection to such an inquiry, but the uncertainty and the cost of time and money involved, promised insuperable difficulties in the way of a just settlement.

The judges having first withdrawn, Wentworth turned to his Council, and pointing out how rapidly the last contribution was drawing to an end, asked them how they proposed to supply the means to support the army till the revenues of the Crown were sufficient of themselves. Such of them as held a

command in the army he warned that he “could not fetch oil out of flint,” or pay them without means ; but that if they did their best to find means, not only would their pay be increased, but their long arrears be settled. 1633.

Thus broke up the first Council of Lord Wentworth in Ireland.

The Council soon met again to answer the question of army supply. Sir Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor, in the name of the rest, advised a continuance of the contribution for another year, with the stipulation that a Parliament should assemble, not merely to grant money, but to redress grievances.

But, with a perceptible sneer at “their straining of courtesy,” Lord Wentworth informed the Council that he had really no need to consult them on this matter. Rather than disappoint his master, he would undertake to find subsistence for the army, at the peril of his head, if need be.

He had asked the advice of those before him—first, that they might share the glory of aiding the King ; and, secondly, that they might procure a voluntary offer from the Protestants this year, as he had procured from the Catholics last year ; and if they would do this, he would send the offer to the King, enclosed with their wish for a Parliament.

Already, he had struck such terror into their feeble spirits that he obtained his desire, adding, in his letter to the Secretary in England, with another sneer, of which it must be acknowledged such poor faint hearts, unfitly undertaking such high duties, were not all unworthy—

“They are so horribly afraid that the contribution

1663. money should be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, as they would redeem it at any rate, so as upon the name of a Parliament thus proposed, it was something strange to see how instantly they gave consent to this proposition, with all cheerfulness possible, and agreed to have the letter drawn, which you have here, signed with all their hands."

This was not the way to deal with such a man as Charles. Men who would thus sell the rights of their country to preserve their own estates, instead of linking a just tax to her just rights, could never be anything but a disgrace. The Irish had no Hampden to spend his fortune and his life to save his land from one slight illegal imposition, harmless to himself, except as he was a very part of his England.

Having thus easily secured another year from the Protestants, Wentworth next set himself to gain the Catholics once more, uniting both parties by the lure of a Parliament. The only councillors he really consulted in Ireland were his two old friends, Sir George Radcliffe, for whom he had procured the office of his Secretary, and Sir Christopher Wandesforde, his relation, who was his Master of the Rolls. These two gentlemen loved him till death, even as he loved the King, and with an affection of precisely the same nature, which, setting all else aside, fulfilled his every desire. The great difference was, that Wentworth did most earnestly appreciate their homage, while Charles regarded him as a mere useful tool. Charles deceived him, concealed from him, and broke his word to him; but Wentworth was ever true to these devoted friends, and it has been this persistent faithfulness in them that has transmitted to us the brightest points in his cha-

racter. He said to Coke that a Parliament was, without all doubt, very fit to be weightily considered; but he waited to consult Radcliffe and Wandesforde before giving his final decision, and meanwhile, with a rather comical prevision, he begged Coke,—

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“In some part of your next letter be pleased to give a touch with your pen concerning Sir Adam Loftus, such as I might show him, for he deserves it, and it will encourage the well-affected, and affright the other, when they shall see their actions are rightly understood by his Majesty. And also some good words for the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Cork, the Lord of Ormond, and the Lord Mountnorris. And chiefly to express in your despatch that his Majesty will think of their desire for a Parliament, and betwixt this and Christmas give them a fair and gracious answer. For the very hope of it will give them great contentment, and make them go on very willingly with their payments.”

We have seen the first sketch of a plan for the improvement of commerce by the introduction of a new and magnificent branch between Ireland and Spain. But before this could be put in practice, it was necessary to render safe from piracy the ocean highways by which such merchandise must be transported.

It was ever a great feature in Lord Wentworth that, even as he turned his endeavours to make all other materials as productive as possible, he acted precisely in the same way with regard to time. Whatever could be done at once, was always done before what needed delay, in the minutest as well as the largest matter. Thus the measures named could be put in force immediately, and he trusted to them to furnish supply till the more legitimate schemes were ripe—till a perennial

1633. revenue should enable him to render himself invincible by means of a standing army, whose existence should be independent of the nation, and which, to use his own expression, "should not be compelled to fetch in every morsel of bread at the sword's point." Far-seeing, calculating, and vigilant as he was, he little recked of another man across the Channel who watched his movements with unchanging gaze, and fixed the limits of his power to the accomplishment of the means, silently resolving that an impassable gulf should open between them and their application to their principal end.

One of the greatest aids to piracy lay in the incessant wars between hostile nations, who, by means of letters of marque, sent forth their privateers formally licensed to plunder. Nothing was easier than for the freebooters of the seas to hoist the flag of one of the opposing nations, and prey by turns on all engaged in war, unmolested by the neutral or allied countries, while, in their own proper character, they could swoop down without reserve on any unguarded vessel. At the present time, the war between Holland and Spain afforded the excuse for either flag to pillage and chase the other all round the coasts, and into the very harbours of Ireland. The Isle of Man was a favourite station, both for the licensed privateers and the declared pirates. From thence they could watch all that passed on the way to the three countries; and, guided by outlawed sailors who served as pilots for the robbers of their native land, could, with comparative safety to themselves, pounce upon their prey. Often they found confederates on shore who, influenced both by fear and interest, played into the hands of wretches they were

commissioned to repel. Lord Wentworth soon found 1633.
reason to suspect such a traitor in the Governor of the
Isle of Man.

On the seas Wentworth had no power, the navy being, of course, under the Lords of the Admiralty, whose incompetence, supineness, and ignorance stirred his anger to the depths. All must sympathise with such a man, compelled to witness, and, as we have seen, personally to experience, these abuses with the will, the ability, but not the authority to redress them. He saw the feeble and miserable vessels styled the "Coats-guard," obliged to stop in harbour for want of provisions, while the well-equipped enemy scoured the seas. When, after repeated applications, the Lords at length despatched an agent to provide, they sent him without a shilling, and Wentworth was forced to advance the money, which, after all, proved of no immediate avail. For when the stores did come, the beef was so bad as to cause a distemper in the seamen, who were by this treatment goaded to the verge of mutiny.*

"Thus," burst forth Lord Wentworth, "thus are we used by your officers of the navy, and have no power to help ourselves—the King's guard for the trade of the kingdom lying idle in harbour in this busiest time of the year, whilst the subject is pilfered hourly in every creek. It makes no matter, the Deputy must have nothing to do in the Admiralty. It were a strange usurpation in him to trench upon it: nor, by my faith, dare I do it. Yet dare I affirm, once for all, that had the Deputy the power over the ships appointed for this service, to place officers, to call them to account

* Letter of the Lord-Deputy to Secretary Coke.

1633. and punish if they deserve it—answerable to his Majesty if he misemployed the trust left with him—the Admiralty should not lose so much in honour as the King's affairs gain of advantage, and the subject of contentment. It grieves me to the soul to see the commerce of this kingdom run immediately and fatally thus to ruin before mine eyes, and that there should be no means afforded me at all to remedy, at least, as far as I might be able." *

In this question, we come upon by far the strongest principle in the nature of Lord Wentworth—viz., Will. It was in him, perhaps, the most perfect illustration of individual will, pure and unmixed, of any man in history. Common tyranny is always linked and influenced by other desires. In a Nero, it was the minister of cruelty; in Tiberius, of sensuality; in James, of vanity and stupidity; in Charles, of falsehood; in thousands it lends itself to fear, avarice, and all the meaner passions. But with Lord Wentworth it seemed an isolated sense, unattended by the needful physician to watch it—Conscience. It was his very lord and master, and in the beginning, led him to oppose the only man whom he acknowledged as possessing the authority over him that he demanded over others. And in that case, it is hard to say how much of his opposition was not directed against Buckingham, who, by his arrogant assumption of the royal tone in his patronising messages to the Parliament, took the most direct means to awaken it. Even the things most desired by Wentworth were unwelcome, unless they came in the precise manner demanded by him—he would almost rather forego them.

* Letter to Mr. Secretary Coke, i., 106.

Thus, nothing could be more just than his complaint of the present evil. His ability was equal to its cure in every way, and it was for no profit to himself that he uttered the call for this authority. But there was another means of cure, and that was by other hands than his. So long as the English Parliament was not allowed to sit, so long must every abuse remain unhealed by lawful method. But to use his influence over the King to call a Parliament, in order to examine into this crying abuse, or any other, never entered Wentworth's thoughts. And it will continually be found, that in this spirit differed his despotism from that of almost all on record. It is in him that we read the answer to the constant desire of many who urge, as the only hope of humanity, "a despotism of the best and wisest," and absolute, unquestioning obedience on the part of all the rest. Lord Wentworth possessed the greatest intellect of his day. Coupled with it was the desire to rule, arising from a consciousness of the ability, greater than that of those he wished to rule. That he began with the intention of ruling Ireland well, his letters show. He spared no labour, no pain, no responsibility: he saw the shortest means to the desired end. In him the experiment was fairly tried. As we follow his footsteps, we shall, while filled with ever-renewed wonder at his gigantic capabilities, be compelled to acknowledge that they ever fell short; that his wisest measures were thwarted by that invisible law he failed to recognise—that truth silently and immutably felt by the whole human race, not by men, but by mankind, that the wisest, greatest, and best of human beings is yet too human for absolute sway; that, whatever be his

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1633. motive, from the very hour he attempts it, his mental powers as inevitably fail, as his physical would fail, in the persistent effort to carry a burden beyond his strength. He becomes of less use than common men. His weakness grows visible, and his fellows, ceasing to trust, turn to others. Then, no longer supported by natural principles, he seeks for unnatural aid. A brief period it may sustain him, till the crash comes—too often crushing others as well as himself in the fall. If there be one truth more irresistibly proved than another, it is that of limitation. The very world is created according to this principle. As we have in all ages broken other laws of Nature—some through ignorance and innocence, some through arrogance and selfishness—so have we broken this; in both cases, with the like result. And in comprehending our own and others' weakness, in neither expecting nor attempting impossibilities, while we yet maintain the strength of our faculties of mind as of body, by developing them to the utmost—surely here lies true liberty.

God has decreed the world shall advance by progress. Not by wild attempts to overleap the boundaries of Nature, but by the accumulation of experience, shall the path be found of that eternal improvement to which not one perfect, celestial favourite, but all, may contribute. The very brevity of our mortal life, without its thousand laws of limitation, would be enough to mark the impassable barrier to individual effort on earth.

Till the hour when Lord Wentworth strove to compass all things in himself no single stain is recorded; no more perfect life, for its short length of years, than

his. With superior powers, superior duties were placed before him, all of which he nobly fulfilled. A parent to his orphaned brothers, sisters, and cousins, at an age when most look on the pleasures of youth as their only just occupation; a valued friend, he then pleaded for liberty and justice, choosing imprisonment and suffering in the holiest cause. Honoured by the great and good, what a rounded and yet expanding life was his! But the moment he usurped and fenced around the rightful walks of other men, he failed, morally and physically. His very body revolted against the harsh tribute of labour and endurance, and the naturally warm temper he had previously tried with success to curb, broke out into acts and words of cruelty under his ever-increasing agony of suffering, instances of which I shall soon have to relate. 1633.

To return to events. What was he to do in the present dilemma? He had informed the Irish Council of his power to raise a revenue without their aid; but that would take time, and largely depended on the safety of the merchandise which was to contribute to such a result. His fertile brain was not long in devising a plan which, by uniting several interests, brought the support of the various parties, and simply appealed to their own common sense.

The Dutch were the greatest victims of the pirates and privateers. They carried on almost the whole trade between Ireland and the Continent; but the depredations had become so enormous, as latterly to render it scarcely worth the while of their merchants to lade the ships.

Their confidence must be restored. An opportunity soon occurred. A Dutch merchant vessel, lying at

1633. anchor at the mouth of the Liffey, was surprised by a large Spanish ship, captured, and carried out to sea. A small British boat witnessing it, and fearing a like fate, sailed off to the man-of-war which had escorted Wentworth himself to Ireland, and whose captain acted under his private directions, and informed him of the seizure. The captain at once followed the pirate and speedily recovered the prize, with thirteen of the enemy on board, which he immediately carried off to Dublin to the Lord-Deputy. Wentworth at once placed the vessel under guard; ordered her to be unladed, and the goods placed in the King's store-house. The bills of lading, and all the correspondence, he ordered to be translated into English, granting copies to such merchants of Dublin as had any interest in the ship. The owners he allowed to dispose of the merchandise, on condition of their placing the proceeds in the hands of trustees appointed by himself. All parties were then examined, and a minute account of the matter sent to Secretary Coke, the one of the two secretaries appointed to receive the confidential correspondence of the Deputy. While leaving it to the English authorities to decide whether the vessel was not a royal prize, as being captured from a pirate, Wentworth strongly advised them to restore it to the owners, pointing out the encouragement such an act would give to trade, which he hoped eventually to transfer to British vessels, and which it was therefore extremely needful to sustain in Dutch hands till he was ready for the transfer. The excuse made by the Spanish pirates, whom he detained in custody, was, that they had simply acted in retaliation; the Dutch having in like manner captured one

of their vessels in the same place, and had gone 1633.
unpunished.

Wentworth then advised that the King of England should boldly declare that the whole system must be ended in the seas within his dominions, of which St. George's Channel was the chief. That, for the future, hostilities must be considered as illegal there as in the river Thames itself, and whoever broke this law, whether allies or not, should be regarded by him as enemies, and treated accordingly; this reservation being nothing but an ancient right of England, which whoever for the future infringed should be treated as a pirate. In the present case, however, if the Spanish Resident would undertake that the breach should not be repeated, the prisoners should be all set at liberty, with one notorious exception, whose past crimes rendered his pardon impossible.

All this was readily granted him, all parties being so palpably injured by the loss of commerce; the new project he had formed with Spain being the chief cause of getting consent in that land. By thus getting rid of privateers in the Channel of St. George, he dealt a deadly blow at one great source of the strength of the pirates—the means of personating the nationalities of other countries. To gain still more liberty to complete his work, Lord Wentworth petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty to create him Vice-Admiral of Munster, which, though an inferior office, he declared himself willing to accept, on account of the power it would confer on him to render more effectual service.*

It was impossible for the condition of the Irish sea

* He received his patent of Vice-Admiral the next March.

1633. to be worse than when Lord Wentworth undertook his office. The English Government appears to have been absolutely indifferent, and the Irish to have submitted to piracy with a kind of stupid helplessness. Neither calculated the daily consequences, or seemed to have dreamed of all that was lost in addition to the positive plunder. But that was bad enough. From all quarters, foreign pirates issued forth to prey upon the seas round England. But the Irish coasts were their especial perquisites, and a most flourishing slave trade was carried on between Morocco and these sea-rovers in Irish slaves, with a very considerable addition of English captives. The story told by the inimitable Defoe of the capture of the runaway Robinson Crusoe by a Moorish rover of Sallee, is as true to life in all its particulars as any other part of that renowned history. Defoe always went to life and fact for the materials of his fictions, and nowhere could he find more of the kind he needed than in the true accounts of sailors escaped from Sallee.

At this time (the summer of 1633) three squadrons of pirates maintained their head quarters in St. Sebastian alone. Of these one squadron was always in action, and the other two were employed in carrying off and disposing of the plunder secured by the first. One of their vessels had followed a Dutch ship into the port of Limerick, and, having robbed her of her cargo, forced the owners to redeem the crew by a ransom of £200 ; and, having obtained this, boldly took a safe repose in the harbour of Limerick, unmolested by the Irish authorities. Similar scenes were repeated at Waterford and Carrickfergus.

Holland divided with Biscay the honour of giving

birth and shelter to some of the worst of these marine banditti. 1633.

From Dunkirk issued many a well-armed robber. During this summer, one ship * alone had rifled two Danish vessels, one of which was the mail-bearer between London and Leipsic, five French barques, besides searching several English and Scotch vessels, where they found nothing for their pains.

All this was done under the protection of the Dutch ensign, the captain representing himself to be a man-of-war of Flushing, who had formerly served under Soubize at Rochelle, and had now entered the service of Holland. All prisoners were consigned to the hold, unless they chanced to be Dutch, when they were paraded on board, in order that their speech and appearance might confirm the captain's tale.

The Isle of Man, belonging to the Earls of Derby, was literally a curse to the seas, so convenient a spot did it prove for these wretches to rendezvous and watch. No thought of using it as a strong guard station seems to have entered the minds of either the English Council or the hereditary ruler of the Isle. This same year, which is a fair specimen of the preceding, a pirate, under thirty tons burden, sailed near the coast. The inhabitants, thinking him a merchant, sent a fishing-boat, with six men, in order to bring ashore any passengers who might wish to land. With no conceivable motive, unless to instil fear and warn the people not to resist, these six poor men were murdered by the pirate in the very sight of their friends ; and the

* This, though it sailed from Dunkirk, proved in the end to be a Spanish vessel.

1633. next day the assassins quietly pillaged a vessel coming into the harbour from Ireland.*

The supineness of the Government had had another evil consequence. The governors of harbours and such places as the Isle of Man, finding themselves neither supported in protecting their charge, nor watched in their own conduct, were often tempted to wink at these crimes. Their silence could often be cheaply bought, for little care was taken as to their fitness for their position in the first instance. A most profitable trade was driven in stolen goods, the buyer being sheltered by the false flag and commission of the seller, and not deeming it needful to inquire too closely into the extraordinary cheapness of the merchandise.

But on all these things Lord Wentworth had his eye. He struck the first blow by the abolition of privateers in the Channel, a deed which of itself alone ought to confer a lasting honour upon his name, and cause him to be remembered with gratitude. His next measure was to secure an efficient guard of the narrow seas. Hitherto, the attempt at protection was not worthy the name. Large sums of money were, indeed, granted for the purpose, and squandered in waste and idleness. The crews of the appointed vessels were, like the soldiers, pressed from the very scum of the people. They were badly paid, badly fed, and often cruelly deprived of the long standing arrears of their scanty wages. No encouragement was offered to them, no reward given for good behaviour. The service was justly hated, and desertions constantly took place in the hour of need. The class of men employed were

* Captain Christian to the Lord-Deputy, i., 118.

far more likely to betray their trust, or join the pirates, than fight against them. Indeed, the Spartan virtue to choose decayed and miserable rations, and often no pay, in place of good food and a share of plunder, was not to be expected from poor, ignorant men, who could neither read nor write, and were forced into their duties. 1633.

Lord Wentworth now chose two good ships. The larger he required of three hundred tons burden. This was to guard the west coast of Ireland, though for the present he was obliged to employ a larger vessel, there not being one ready of the exact dimensions he wished. This was the "Antelope." The other, called the "Ninth Lion's Whelp,"* was smaller still, and was for St. George's Channel. The cost of these vessels, including ammunition, food, and wages, amounted to between £5000 and £6000 per annum.† Even this was lessened, for, as no merchantmen of value ventured out during winter, the pirates found it not profitable enough to search for business except during the summer months. Lord Wentworth, therefore, resolved to effect a saving of the money formerly wasted while the vessels were useless. He ordered the vessels to be ready by the beginning of March, from which time they were to cruise till the middle of October, or about six months of the year. The mariners were then only engaged for that time, a few men being retained to repair and keep the vessels in order during the winter. The old, wretched crews were speedily got rid of, and

* The Lion's Whelps were smaller vessels of war and went by number.

† Letters of the Lord-Deputy, State Papers, Charles I., Ireland, MS.

1633. their place supplied by sturdy and respectable sailors, whom the Lord-Deputy took care should be well fed, clothed, and paid—and paid punctually, as well as their officers. He was fortunate in finding already in the service three captains who were all his heart could desire. These were Richard Plumleigh, Thomas James, and Beverly Newcomen. They completely entered into his new plan, and, good and able seamen themselves, were delighted to serve a chief who, without the petty meddling of ignorant authority, made himself sufficiently acquainted with naval matters to appreciate good, as well as to detect bad, work. They had long been in the service, yet, till Lord Wentworth was appointed to Ireland, they had been unable to prove their ability, and were unknown and undistinguished. But it was one of the advantages of serving him, that no talent remained long hidden, nor did he take the credit of the work of his subordinates. Constantly we find him mentioning them with praise in his letters to the English Council, and recommending them for promotion and reward. Captain Plumleigh was, indeed, his right hand on the sea. It was he who escorted Lord Wentworth to Ireland, and who captured the daring pirate of St. Sebastian, already mentioned. One of Wentworth's first acts of authority was to confer knighthood on Plumleigh, "both to encourage his industry, and to invite others to be more diligent in what they go about for the King's service."*

Sir Richard Plumleigh, as we must now call him, commanded the "Antelope," and undertook to watch the Western coasts. Captain James, for a short time,

* Letters of the Lord-Deputy, State Papers, Charles I., Ireland MS.

cruised in St. George's Channel; but, being required 1633.
for other service in England, he was in a few months
succeeded by Sir Beverly Newcomen, a man in every
way the equal of Plumleigh. So effectively did these
two gallant captains perform their duty, well supported
as they were by Lord Wentworth, who took care to
supply them with efficient means such as they had
never had before, that, by the following year, they had
swept the sea round Ireland completely free of pirates,
and on the West coast, not a single merchant was
robbed on the waters.

Enormous was the labour required, and great the
difficulty to be overcome, so speedily to accomplish
this.

The Lords-Justices had left in all things obstacles
that must be removed, and deficiencies that must be
supplied, before the work of construction could be
begun. Thus, in this matter, Lord Wentworth had to
rid himself of a set of ragamuffins, not worthy the
name of sailors, before he could get better men. But,
then, long arrears of wages were due. A half-year's
"entertainment," or expenses, of the two vessels, with
a debt of £1200 besides, were among the pleasant de-
ficiencies presented to Wentworth by the Lords-
Justices; while the agent of the Lords of the Admiralty
in England was sent to him to provide the stores for
the next year, "without a penny in his purse," the
ships at the time being absolutely bare of provisions,
"the beef being neither killed, nor the beer brewed."

All this Lord Wentworth had to remedy himself.
The exchequer was worse than empty, the money due
to it being long before anticipated in addition to its
debts.

1633. And when we are so free with our blame and reproach for his arbitrary rule, let us also look at the condition of matters when he arrived—the result of each man in turn shifting the responsibility of one thing after another. Let us note, too, how wretchedly his wants were supplied by those who were bound to support him, and how he was almost driven to assume the power he did to accomplish his work at all—for there was nothing he hated so much as bad, inefficient, slovenly work. And how hard it is to obtain good work without compulsion—and very stern compulsion, too—who knows not? And where Wentworth's eye fell, there followed order by some means or other, lawful or otherwise. He really could not rest passive in the sight of mismanagement.

Had he, for instance, lived in our day, and been on the spot a spectator of the sufferings of the soldiers in the Crimean War from dirt, disease, starvation, and the rest, he might have incurred a court martial and been shot; but, for such scenes as we read of to have gone on under his eye, *could* not have been.

During this, his first half-year in Ireland, which was occupied in forming and starting his plans of reform, but little could, of course, be done with the army; but what was possible he lost no time in accomplishing. He sent commissioners into Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, to make the strictest inquiry into the condition of the soldiers in each district, and report also on the means of replenishing both men and money; while, in all directions, the officers were warned of the order of things by which they were at once to cease to be mere holders of a commission. To the chief reforms he looked for the growth of other

branches. Thus, with the improvement of commerce, 1633.
would arise an enormous increase of the Customs;
with the establishment of order, great diminution of
expense; with the suppression of piracy, a new respect
from all foreign powers, &c.

But one great interest—the greatest in every
country, in every age—was not likely to be overlooked
by Lord Wentworth—that was the interest of the
Church, and in this he was, till the hour of his death,
associated with a man whose influence over him is yet
more astonishing to us than that of the King, and,
like the last, can only be accounted for by consider-
ing him to be the representative of a system to which
Wentworth was bound by a real and fervent belief.

Of this man we have now to speak as one of the
most notorious, even as Lord Wentworth was one of the
most celebrated, men of his day.

CHAPTER IX.

1633.

WILLIAM LAUD, born in the year 1573, was the son of an opulent clothier of Reading in Berkshire, and, by his mother's side, nephew of Sir William Webb, Lord Mayor of London.

His father, destining him for the church, sent him first to the free grammar school of Reading, where, before he was sixteen years old, he made sufficient progress to be transferred to St. John's College, Oxford. His tutor was especially fond of controversy, and was accustomed to attack both Catholics and Puritans in the same discourse, treating them equally as reprobates and rebels to the sacred authority of the King, which he upheld as altogether holy. Laud carried the same diligence into College that had distinguished him at school, applying it also to his worldly advancement; a close attention to his studies never hindering him from carefully watching every opportunity, however small, of preferment.

From the beginning, he appears to have been generally unpopular. Without any outward advantages of person or estate to dazzle the superficial, he was also destitute of that genius, imagination, and generosity of soul and heart that has such power to awaken sympathy and affection in ingenuous and ardent minds.

But as if in contrast to some patriarchs who have preserved all the impulsiveness and ardour of youth to the last hour of life, so Laud seems never to have been otherwise than old. None ever could have predicted for him the fulfilment of a great ambition, or dreamed of his rising in a profession adorned by so many men of eloquence and learning.

1633.

Yet, by slow degrees, by dogged perseverance and minute caution in whatever affected the pleasure of the ruling powers, he rose during the reign of James through the ascents of the church to be Bishop of St. Davids.

At the accession of Charles, he was chosen by the King himself to assist at the coronation, and, in the year 1527, he was made Bishop of London, and a member of the Privy Council. On the 25th of August 1633, he was elevated to the highest dignity of the church, as Archbishop of Canterbury.

The success of such a man affords one of the many proofs of the sufficiency of the meaner parts of human nature for worldly elevation, and how false is such a test as a measure of real greatness and nobility of soul. The very same reigns that witnessed the rise of Laud, beheld the weary years of Sir John Eliot's imprisonment terminating in death, and burial so obscure in the precincts of his prison that his grave is nameless and unknown. Preceded by Raleigh, followed by Vane, Eliot was the very centre of a band who, exerting to the utmost the highest powers of mind and soul, yet to the eye of the world failed in all things and perished by untimely death. No titles placed their badge on the names of Pym and Hampden; the first died in poverty and debt, the second in the depression of defeat. And

1633. so with nameless thousands who have yet given their all for what never could benefit themselves.

From his earliest college days, Laud was accused of leaning to Popery. Unlike his master who held the balance of hate between the Puritans and Papists, so large a portion of Laud's detestation was bestowed on the former as to leave him almost in charity with the latter, whom he seems to have mildly denounced, at times, as an unwelcome duty rather than from any zealous motive. It is certain that he had all the Roman Catholic propensities of dressing the churches and priests in sanctified robes, in performing various ceremonies, and looked on all outward forms as the essence of religion. To make an altar of the heart—whereon to offer up the sacrifices of evil passions—was to him the thing unknown; but he believed salvation affected by a material altar, whether it were placed against the wall or the middle of the church. To bow at the name of Christ (not at that of the Father) was one of his sternest commands, but the humility that springs from a consciousness of imperfection was to him an unheard of secret. His life was a perpetual attempt to compel his fellow beings to profess whatsoever he thought fit to ordain, and, wherever he failed, to inflict the vilest and most vindictive penalties which, like every other narrow minded, ignorant bigot, he succeeded in cheating himself into the delusion were "for the good" of the victims. How far these were justified in declaring him a friend to popery may be judged from the following description of his consecration of St. Catherine's Creed Church recorded by a contemporary.

"He (Laud) took up some of the dust and threw it

up into the air several times, and approaching the Communion Table, bowed oftentimes towards it. Then went round the church saying the hundred and the nineteenth psalms. Then a prayer concluding: 'We consecrate this church and separate it unto Thee as Holy Ground, not to be profaned any more to common use.' Then being near the Communion Table, he cursed those that should profane that holy place by musters, profane law courts, or burdens, and at the end of every curse, bowing to the east, he said, 'Let all the people say, Amen.' Then he pronounced a number of blessings upon the builders of the church, and those who had or should give chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils, and at the end of every blessing, bowing towards the east, he said, 'Let all the people say, Amen.' Then followed the sermon, which ended, the bishop,* as he approached the Communion Table, made many lowly bowings. Then coming to the side where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times. And, after the readings of several prayers, lifted up the corner of the napkin where the bread was, laid it down again, flew back a step or two, bowed three times towards it, then drew near again, opened the napkin and bowed as before. Then he laid his hand on the cup which was full of wine, with a cover on it, went back and bowed thrice towards it, lifted up the cover, looked into it, and letting it fall again, retired back and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament."†

Another case is given, in which the Recorder of Sarum, seeing a painted window with a representation

* He was then Bishop of London.

† Rushworth, vol. ii, 8vo, p. 124.

1633. of God the Father, repulsive and blasphemous to any reverent mind, and utterly worthless as a work of art, could not contain his indignation, but with a blow dashed the glass in pieces. He was at once brought before the Star Chamber, fined £500, deprived of his office, and sentenced to confess he had sinned. Laud defended this picture, justifying its resemblance to an old man on the ground that the Deity had been in Scripture called the Ancient of Days. He was well answered by the Earl of Dorset who explained to the Primate of all England that "thereby was meant God from Eternity, and not God to be pictured as an old man creating the world with a pair of compasses."

It was such things as these that roused the solemn contempt of the Puritans, and made them turn away from material images that did, in truth, verge on the most debasing idolatry. Their minds, more powerful than delicate, did not distinguish between such exhibitions and the works of great artists intended for a wholly different purpose. And much as we may lament the mutilations they inflicted on many a noble statue, yet, if we recall the tawdry, diminutive, bedizened figures in glass cases, that still in Catholic countries attract the bowed worship of thousands, who also have no eye for the noblest architecture, we may well pause and question if the sacrifice of any mere material beauty was too great to pay for the annihilation of all such attempts to associate in the minds of the multitude these profane representations with Him who dwelling in the light that no man can approach unto, no man hath seen, or can see.

Miserable as was the effect of Laud's ideas of religion, he was still sincere in them. Perfect Christianity,

in his eyes, meant the profession of a creed and the performance of a number of rites ordained by himself. To this he added the conviction that, while the Church was the head of all else, the king was head of the Church, and, as such, to be obeyed in all things without question. How Laud would have explained matters had the king chanced to turn Puritan or Quaker, it is hard to guess. But he was not put to the trial. None of his claims did Charles rate more highly than that of lord over the Church. Not the Pope himself demanded more implicit spiritual obedience, and as he held the same creed as Laud, he was but too pleased to find a man who, from the highest position in the Church, would confirm his own heavenly and earthly authority. That Laud should thus place himself at the disposal of the King was altogether natural and entirely consistent with his nature and understanding.

But that Lord Wentworth could ever become the intimate and sincere friend of Laud, is another of those riddles at whose solution we may guess but may not resolve. And the only conjecture to be made is that they were linked by the two strongest impulses in the hearts of each. Both felt exactly alike on the subjects that swayed their lives.

Lord Wentworth had been brought up in the Church of England, and was a staunch follower of all its forms. He differed from Laud only so far as not to be a bigot. Whatever compulsion Wentworth used in religious matters was caused by political motives. But this created no discord, for the fact of the King's position as head of the Church rendered his commands equally binding on both from this cause alone.

Laud first made the acquaintance of Wentworth at

1633.

1633. the Council Board in England, on the occasion of the elevation of the latter to the office of President of the Council of the North. Here they rapidly became intimate, and, after the departure of Wentworth, commenced a correspondence which did not terminate till death. No interruption in it, even through misunderstanding, ever occurred. The great distance between their dwellings, doubtless, prevented many difficulties that might have arisen from constant personal intercourse, while the exalted position of Laud, first as a bishop and then as primate, gave a value to his sympathy with Wentworth's plans that rendered it doubly welcome. The lowly birth of Laud never seems in the slightest degree to have detracted from the respect always paid to his calling by Wentworth, who could permit himself a sneer at a plebeian name if he disliked the owner, but not otherwise. Laud, who had been often taunted with his origin, and who was extremely sensitive on the subject, was delighted with the deference shown to him by his high-born friend, for whom he truly felt as much affection as his generally contracted heart was capable of. On the appointment of Wentworth as Lord Deputy, Laud eagerly engaged him to join in his plan of uniformity of religion throughout the United Kingdom, desiring Lord Wentworth to accomplish this for Ireland. The very strong resemblance between the service such as Laud approved, and that of the Catholics, certainly seemed to promise a much easier realisation of his wishes than in Scotland, where everything like form or ceremony was obnoxious to the people. But, on the other hand, the Scotch were imbued with feelings of strong loyalty to the King, who possessed especial claims upon them,

as born on their own soil and directly descended from their own royal line. Ireland, on the contrary, had in no single thing one particle of sympathy with England, and the only way in which she felt it possible to acknowledge Laud as her right reverend father in God, was not by becoming Protestant herself, but by his complete conversion to Catholicism. That this was considered far from unlikely is shown by the offer to him of a cardinal's hat* from Rome at the very date of his elevation to the See of Canterbury. He did not wait till the Lord Deputy arrived in Dublin, but after begging him in a general way to regard all that concerned the Church, he named a few specialities. The first of the promises he exacted was that the ruined church which had so long served as a stable to the castle of Dublin should be purified and restored to its original destination. Next, he directed attention to a matter which had been the cause of great wrong in England. It had often happened that, at the instigation of the clergy, many pious persons had left sums of money to found perpetual vicarages, rectories, &c. Numbers of these had fallen into decay, and others had remained in the hands of the king. These incomes or legacies called impropriations, were often bought by the Puritans, who in turn appropriated them to preachers and lecturers of their own. As may be imagined, the choler of Laud was hotly stirred to witness rectories, tythes, prebendaries, lands, and tenements converted into Puritan chapels and schools. He was not accustomed to rest at words alone, and summoned the purchasers of Church property for applying it to purposes not intended by the giver. It was in vain they produced

* Diary of Laud.

1633. — their deeds and receipts—these went for nothing : they were declared by the Attorney-General to have usurped the King's regality, to have inclined the clergy to dependency towards themselves, and to have introduced dangerous novelties. They were declared guilty and ordered to account for any profit they might have made, which was to be restored for the good of the Church.* This system Laud was anxious to introduce into Ireland, and, united with the fines of the recusants, calculated on obtaining thereby a large sum of money for the Church.

Nothing was deemed too small for the diligence of the Lord Deputy. The bishop of Waterford had long left unpaid to St. John's College the sum of £30, and Wentworth was to enforce the payment or call him to a legal account. Laud had been told that in Londonderry a poor Jew kept a school for English pupils. Nothing was alleged against his character, nor any other reason than the fact of his being a Jew, for the following spiteful request :

"I humbly pray your Lordship that he may be seized on by authority and sent over in safe custody and delivered, either to myself or Mr. Motteshed, the register of the High Commission, that he may not live there to infect his Majesty's subjects."†

Laud, cautious as he had been in his own ascent, was singularly rash and imprudent in his attempts at church government. Unlike Lord Wentworth, who carefully examined his ground and weighed his resources beforehand, Laud seemed to think that a name of authority and the power to enforce it went hand in hand. Con-

* Rushworth, ii., 123, 8vo.

† Bishop Laud to the Lord Deputy, i., 81.

sequently, the higher he rose in rank, the more he threw off the caution that had lifted him up the first steps, till when he reached the summit, he looked upon it as a staff no longer needed. It was he who put into words many of the most tyrannically insolent speeches of the King, who in this, as in other matters, entirely accorded with him, and he expected that the representative of the King in Ireland would follow the same example. 1633.

But though Wentworth agreed with him as to the end, he had other ideas as to the means. Before taking active steps, he made the same survey of the present condition of church matters as of all things else. He said a cure could only be found by first understanding the condition of the patient. And the condition of the church he found to be very precarious indeed. The few clergy in Ireland were very ignorant men, unpolished in their manner, shabby in their dress; there was nothing in them inwardly or outwardly to excite the respect of a congregation. Of the small number of churches that had been built, most were in ruins as well as the parsonages and vicarages. The latter seemed of small consequence, seeing that the custom was for a clergyman possessing a good benefice to live comfortably away from it, and pay some ignorant layman to perform his duties at an almost nominal stipend. The solemn services were gabbled over in a manner that took the least time, and put all good effect out of the question. The revenues of the church were chiefly hired out to laymen as a money speculation, the very bishops farming out their houses and demesnes to anyone who would pay the highest terms.

The schools were in the same condition. The duties were deputed to inferior men or secretly handed over to

1633. the Roman Catholic priests, or allowed to remain empty ; pecuniary profit being in all cases the object.

The charitable institutions were grossly abused. Wentworth stated that *all*, without reservation, were converted into private benefits.

The immorality was frightful. Marriages were conducted in so private a manner, that nothing was more common than for men to deny them, and desert their wives and children. Many of the wives and children of the Protestant clergy were recusants, in which case the creed of the husbands was but of small benefit to the church.

One evil is named continually as over-topping all, and that was the foreign jurisdiction maintained by means of the priests.

Whatever the faults of Lord Wentworth, he is declared by those who knew him best, and who alone were eye-witnesses of his daily life, to have been a good domestic character, a kind husband, a fond parent, and free from the fashionable vices his enemies have not scrupled to charge him with, as indeed, with what crime has he not been laden ? And he spoke with indignation and disgust of " the abominable polygamies " and yet worse iniquities, " which, in respect of a foreign jurisdiction, are too frequent. " *

Yes : then, as ever, it was this insolent interference from abroad that was the curse of Ireland, who, by its means, became the wretched tool of cunning and licentious tyrants, the most miserable bond slave of men who sneered while they corrupted, and, for the sake of the gold they could wring, crushed out her moral life, poisoned her kindly feelings, blinded her weeping

* The Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

eyes, and rendered all improvement, all happiness, 1633.
hopeless, so long as their fetters remained unbroken.

The plans Lord Wentworth proposed were :

1. To appoint a new provost for the College, which was grossly mismanaged, and to reform the statutes.

2. If it could be possibly effected by legal means, to deprive of their benefices all such clergymen whose wives and children were recusants, and consequently under the dominion of the priests.

3. All marriages to be celebrated publicly according to the laws of England.

4. The whole of the Canons of the Church of England to be enforced on the clergy of Ireland, who were utterly lawless in such matters.

5. A High Commission, composed of the most wise and conscientious men, to be held in the interests of the Irish Clergy. These were to rigidly examine the ecclesiastical courts, whose revenues were greatly alienated by the Catholics, and to provide, partly by their restoration and other means, for the maintenance of an efficient clergy. Also to punish the immoralities now in vogue, the unjust extortions and perversions of money appointed for charitable uses. Above all, to put an entire stop to foreign jurisdiction.

This Commission he advised to be deferred till the business now in consideration of the Irish Parliament was settled.

But, meanwhile, what he was able to do personally was at once commenced, greatly to the delight of Laud, who had more faith in the single hand of the Lord Wentworth than in a commission composed of the wisest men.*

* The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Deputy.

1633.

Laud indeed had a dislike to councils. "Where many are employed at once," he declared, "there usually proves to be in some a fretting canker-worm of ambition, and that, for particular aims, makes such a division as gives far greater impediment to the greatest affairs than any want of sufficiency can make." As to Lord Wentworth's hopes of finding a body of men "all able and none caring for any ends, so the King be served," that, said Laud, "was but a branch of Plato's Commonwealth that flourished no where but in Utopia." This was happily true, and one of the few utterances in which Laud was wiser than his friend. With the Church, as with the State, nothing could be done without a revenue, and Wentworth now procured a commission from the King to examine into the condition of alienated property.

It had long been the custom among the higher clergy, and especially the bishops of Ireland, to let out on lease for a long number of years—some as many as sixty—a large proportion of their benefice lands. During their own life, they retained the whole, but on their death sometimes no more than one hundredth part was left to their successor, all the rest going to the lessee, who had paid a large sum for his lease to the bishop who had thus added enormously to his own income by impoverishing his successors. That the transaction was somewhat equivalent to buying and selling stolen goods seems pretty clear. But it went even farther—the purchaser selling it in his turn; and thus it might pass through several hands, till at last it seemed like any other common property transferred by means of a broker.

This was a very different matter from that of dis-

puted titles. The clergy had paid no subsidy to the King or the purchaser bought in ignorance. And Wentworth was resolved that all that originally belonged to the Church should be restored. He considered the purchaser so far as that the money paid for the lease should be restored, and if the purchaser had been a loser, it should be made up. But he should not be allowed to retain any profit on his bargain, Lord Wentworth "not judging it reasonable that, providing for the loss, any lay person should gain forth of the patrimony of the Church raised from so rotten a foundation." 1633.

Though they feared openly to murmur, yet these measures were distasteful enough to many of the bishops who, lacking both conscience and money, cared little for the condition of their successors, could they but increase their present stipend. Some were bold enough to attempt secretly to sell a lease of their lands. But the Lord Deputy was on his guard, and one of the culprits, the Bishop of Killala, being betrayed to him, Lord Wentworth instantly summoned him to his presence, and sternly denouncing him as having betrayed his bishopric, told him "he deserved to have his rochet pulled over his ears, and to be turned to a stipend of four nobles a year."

The terrified prelate at once confessed his guilt, begged for pardon, gave up the lease, and promised faithfully for the future to promote the cause of the Church with all diligence.*

All leases of whatever age were now reduced to twenty-one years, to give time for restoration, and

* The Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, i., 171.

1633. Wentworth declared that if any such practices were carried on for the future, he would punish the buyer equally with the seller.

With what money he had in hand he commenced the repair of the shattered churches, telling the Archbishop that to attempt to evangelise the people before an able clergy were provided and the decays of the material churches were repaired, was like going to warfare without munition and arms, and that the desired reformation must commence with themselves. Many notorious cases of sacrilege were put down, and, among them, one that had long been maintained where Wentworth himself used to attend, where the vaults under the church were turned into shops for ale and tobacco. "The people," says he, "are pouring either in or out their drink-offerings and incense, whilst we above are serving the High God."

He also granted a commission to the Archbishop of Dublin to search for all similar instances, and publish the orders against them, and of course put a stop to transformation of a church into a stable at his own castle.*

The greatest difficulty was forced to rest for the present. One of the judges whom Wentworth had ordered to report on the state of religion in the country through which he passed on circuit, wrote back that the English plantations formerly filled with zealous Protestants were now transformed and peopled with trembling Catholics. The priests had raised a Romish hierarchy of bishops, commissaries, vicars general, and parochial priests all directly under the authority of the Pope. They imposed such burdens that the very con-

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, i., 173.

verts groaned beneath them. It was not possible in many places to obtain a Protestant jury, and to the Catholics the priests granted full absolution for the vilest perjury whenever it served their purpose. The Italian Pope, not the English King or Irish Government, was to be obeyed.* 1633.

We have also another testimony from the best of all the bishops of Ireland, a man respected and beloved even by the Catholics themselves, in spite of their ghostly fathers. This was William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, who on being accused of trying to prevent the contribution for the army, indignantly wrote to Lord Wentworth :—

“ If I should have had such an intention (to oppose the army) this had been not only to oppose the service of his Majesty, but that of the Highest Majesty, and to expose, with the public peace, mine own neck to the skeanes of the Romish cut-throats. I that know that in this kingdom of his Majesty the Pope hath another kingdom, far greater in number, and constantly guided and directed by the orders of the new congregation (*de propaganda fide*) lately erected at Rome, and by the means of the Pope’s Nuncio’s residing at Brussels or Paris, that the Pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by mine own diocese, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal oath, bound to him to maintain him and his regalities *contra omnem hominem*; and to execute his mandates to their utmost forces. I that know there is in this kingdom, for the moulding of the people to the Pope’s obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses who are grown to that

* Letter of Mr. Justice Cressy to the Lord Deputy, i., 102.

1633. insolency as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in better ranks than priests, insomuch as the censure of the Sorbonne is fain to be employed to curb them; which yet is called in again, so tender is the Pope to these his own creatures. I that know that his Holiness hath erected a new university at Dublin to confront His Majesty's college there, and to breed up the youth of this kingdom to his devotion of which university one, Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel which was put forth in print against the Lord Primate Wanstead's sermon, styleth himself in print to be Dean. I that know and have given advertisements to the State that these regulars dare erect new friaries in the country since the dissolving of those in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness, as that they care not to learn the Ten Commandments as God Himself spake and writ them. But flock in great numbers to the preaching of the new superstitions and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are ashamed of. And at these they levy collections, three, four, five, and six pounds at a sermon. I that know that this clergy and these regulars have at a general meeting like to a synod, as they themselves style it, holden at Drogheda, decreed, that it is not lawful to take the oath of allegiance, and if they be constant to their own learning, do account His Majesty in their own hearts to be King but at the Pope's discretion.

*"In this estate of this kingdom, to think the bridle of the army may be taken away, it should be thought not of a brainsick but of a brainless man."**

* Letter of Bishop Bedell to the Lord Deputy.

It was such practices as are thus related that 1633.
rendered the Roman Catholics so hated and feared in
England, not the bare fact of their religious creed.
Had the Protestants, in like manner, placed some
foreign prince above their own government, his man-
dates above their own laws, and proclaimed his for-
giveness absolution complete for the blackest of crimes,
they, too, would have been compelled to submit to the
curb like other rebels, or England must have perished
ingloriously beneath a foreign yoke.

Lord Wentworth had now well-informed himself
of the condition of the kingdom, and the year ended
with every preparation for a complete and profitable
change.

CHAPTER X.

1633.

AFTER following the Lord-Deputy through a little of his ceaseless and endless variety of laborious scrutiny, it affords a kind of repose to glance a while at his domestic life.

However deep the affection had been, it was a most rare circumstance in those days for either widow or widower to remain in solitude unless approaching the verge of extreme old age. It was therefore a matter of no surprise or remark that notwithstanding his profound attachment to the Lady Arabella, and his frantic grief at her death, a year had scarcely passed before Lord Wentworth was a third time a bridegroom.

The lady was young, beautiful, and amiable, but, unlike her predecessors, was of greatly inferior rank.

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes, could boast of no long train of ancestors, her father being a simple knight; a title, as we have seen, so insignificant in those days, that many chose to pay a large fine rather than hold it. But she possessed what was well calculated to win the proud and fervent heart of her husband, a gentle, affectionate, and reverent nature, and one that impressed on him the belief, afterwards fully realised, that she would prove a tender mother to his little orphan children.

He married her privately before quitting England, but she preceded him to Ireland, whither he sent her under the care of his trusted friend, Sir George Radcliffe. Some of his letters to her on this early departure have been preserved, and bear evidence of the awe with which she regarded her majestic lord, and which he endeavoured to remove by that kindness and affection he invariably manifested to his family. 1633.

The love letters of such a man are more interesting than the most sentimental romance, and shine forth like records of a peace that claimed its gentle hours amid the storms of his life.

This is the first.

“Madam.

“I have, in little, much to say to you, and in short terms to profess that which I must appear all my life long, or else one of us must be much to blame.

“But, in truth, I have that confidence in you, and that assurance in myself as to rest secure the fault will never be made on either side.

“Well, then, this little and this much, this short and this long, what I aim at is no more than to give you this first written testimony that I am your husband, and that husband of yours, that will ever discharge those duties of love and respect towards you which good women may expect and are justly due from good men to discharge them with a hallowed care and continued perseverance in them. And this is not only much but all which belongs to me; and wherein I shall tread out the remainder of life which is left me. More I cannot say, nor perform much more for the present. The rest must dwell in hope until I

1633. have made it up in the balance. But I am and must be no other than your loving husband."

Unfortunately *her* first letter has not come to light. But its timid spirit may be judged from his answer :

" Dear Besse.

" Your first lines were welcome to me, and I will keep them, in regard I take them to be full, as of kindness, so of truth.

" It is no presumption for you to write unto me. The fellowship of marriage ought to carry with it more of love and equality than any other apprehension.

" So I desire it may ever be betwixt us, nor shall it break of my part.

" Virtue is the highest value we can set upon ourselves in this world, and the chief which others are to esteem us by. That preserved, we become capable of the noblest impressions which can be imparted unto us. You succeed in this family two of the rarest ladies of their time. Equal them in those excellent dispositions of your mind, and you become every ways worthy of anything they had, or that the rest of the world can give.

" And be you ever assured to be by me cherished and assisted the best I can, through the whole course of my life, wherein I shall be no other to you than I was to them, to wit,

" Your loving husband."*

Lord Wentworth fulfilled his promise, and still domestic affection lighted up his home and afforded a respite

* Biographia Britannica, vol. vii. Art. Wentworth.

after the wearing labours of the day. As at the beginning, so through life, his third wife remained unspoiled by worldly honours, nor was made indifferent by custom. Like Burke, Wentworth might have declared that he parted from his cares on the threshold of his home, and, under changes that offered as severe a test as could possibly be given, he found there a happiness that, without the many existing proofs thereto added, was of itself sufficient to give the lie to the wicked slanders that, after his death, were heaped upon his name. 1633.

No woman, who is not a ruffian, holding the position of a second wife, would treat the name of her predecessor otherwise than with reserve and respect.

To say, therefore, that the new Lady Wentworth avoided all cause of offence to her step-children on the subject of their mother, or never raised coldness or dissension between them and their father, is only to say that she was not a coarse and bad woman, and we will not insult her by praising her for so negative a matter. But, without dreaming of instituting a comparison between herself and their real mother, she manifested such delicacy, sympathy, and affection towards the little Wentworths as to win their warmest affection and esteem, and awaken in others that just admiration due to a stepmother who fulfils the duties of a parent, and thereby merits, not only the full return of filial gratitude, but every possible additional tribute to the generosity and unselfish devotion shown in the long performance of a most difficult and anxious duty unaided by a natural tie.

It was a very poor dwelling to which the Lord-Deputy was forced to bring his family in Dublin, and altogether

1633. unworthy his official dignity as well as far inferior in comfort, elegance, and even needful accommodation, to his own private residence in Yorkshire.

The Lords-Justices had, indeed, warned him that the castle stood in need of repair, but he could not have expected its actual condition, which he found to be not only wretched but dangerous. A short time previous to his arrival, while it was inhabited by the Lord Chancellor Ely, one of the great towers had fallen with a tremendous crash, sparing, by the fortunate delay of an hour, the lives of several of his grandchildren. Yet so culpably lazy and negligent was Ely, who had thus irresistible proof of its perilous condition, that he gave no particulars, and allowed Lord Wentworth to take possession of such a home. To prevent the other tower from falling, the Lord-Deputy was obliged to pull it down immediately on his arrival. Decay was not all. The bakehouse lay immediately under his study, the wood-rick exactly in front of a gallery which Lord Falkland had built, and for which he took such credit as to desire that Wentworth should make a public acknowledgment of it.* There was no stable, a ruined church, as we have seen, performing that office. No wonder Wentworth pronounced the whole building as little better than a very prison.

Not the most thrifty housewife that ever lived in the best managed house in England was more particular in the minutest attributes of order than Lord Wentworth. It was altogether a part of his nature, and for him to inhabit such a place as had satisfied his predecessors was impossible.

Nor was order alone sufficient. Proportionate to

* Letter of Lord Falkland to the Lord-Deputy, i., 102.

the rank of the individual, he looked upon an amount of appearance which, after a certain degree, passed into state, as a necessity. And consistently with this view, the representative of a King was to be clothed with due magnificence. But to this he attached no common meaning. The pomp, which, in the eye of the vulgar, is nothing else than a glittering splendour that awakes their admiration and desire, was to him, when decking a public officer, the solemn symbol of a lofty calling charged with spiritual meaning as expressive of political authority as the priestly robe of Aaron of the ministry of religion. 1633.

It is thus that inanimate things almost become inspired with life, while a creature formed with organic powers can, by their senseless inactivity, closely resemble a clod of clay.

Immediately on his arrival, in the midst of those incessant labours with which we have seen him occupied, Lord Wentworth commenced the improvement of the castle. Having represented to the King its present dangerous condition, the rottenness of the walls and timber, and that if not put at once in order, it would need a much larger sum, he obtained a grant of two thousand pounds* for its repair. He built several new rooms, a number of courts and storehouses, wood-houses, &c. He then bought a large piece of ground for the purpose to which he was constantly urged by Laud, viz., a stable. For Laud could rest calmly enough while men's ears were being cut off, but left Wentworth no peace so long as the ruined church building was profaned.

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the King (apostiled), Letters, i., p. 310.

1633.

The stable was a special object, as Wentworth was particularly annoyed by the shabby, neglected appearance of the animals provided for the royal service, and therefore erected accommodation for more than sixty horses of his own troop—such horses, he boasted, as Ireland had not seen for many a day. To the stable was attached a large granary to contain their provender. The whole was intended as a model to the officers of the cavalry regiments, for in this, as well as in all matters of instruction, Wentworth deemed that example must precede precept. “I am the more careful,” said he, “to complete my own troop that so I may freely call upon other captains to perform their duties.” He also spent one hundred and fifty pounds on the purchase of land surrounding the castle for a garden and outbuildings, that his eye might no more be offended by wood-ricks from the windows of the castle. He was a great lover of symmetry and beauty in inanimate forms, and declared himself laughingly “a very pretty architect.” The money allowed him could have gone but a little way in the enormous expenses he incurred in support of the outward dignity of his office. At his own cost he maintained a retinue of fifty attendants, all magnificently attired, and soon increased his troop to the number of one hundred horse, all of whom he provided and equipped, at a cost of six thousand pounds, besides their regular maintenance. In return for this zeal in the royal service he urged his claims in the matter he found most difficult to maintain with the King, namely, the disposal of places in his lawful gift.

“Other Deputies,” said he, “kept never a horse in their stables, put up the King’s pay for their troop and

company in a manner clear into their purses, infinitely to his Majesty's disservice in the example. I have three score good horse in mine, which will stand me in twelve hundred pounds a year, and a guard of fifty foot waiting on his Majesty's Deputy every Sunday, personable men and well appointed. Other Deputies have kept their tables for thirty pounds a week. Upon my faith, it stands me (besides my stable) in three score and ten pounds when it is at least.* My charge, I dare say, is far greater in each respect than any of the five which went last before me. An expense not of vanity neither, but of necessity, judging it not to become me, having the great honour to represent his Majesty's sacred person, to set it forth, no, not in any one circumstance, in a penurious and mean manner before the eyes of a wild and rude people."†

The Sunday was always signalised by his punctual attendance at church, whither he rode on horseback attended by his fifty guards, or, at times, when his heavy infirmities made it needful, in the then rare and enormous conveyance—a coach. Except by the institution of public worship, Sunday was not recognised by the members of the Church of England as a day to be kept with solemnity. Wentworth, in conformity with established custom, held his Council‡ in the afternoon as on other days, but well might it have been for him had he been enforced by the better custom for which the Puritans were so earnestly striving, to take that Sabbath rest which is one of the most beneficent gifts ever conferred on mankind. Besides his labours in

* Letter to Lord Cottington, i., 128.

† Letter to Secretary Coke, i., 139.

‡ Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 16.

1633. public, his incessant correspondence, of which we have the remains, and which prove that not by dictation but often with his own hand, three and four letters a day, each containing six and seven folio pages, were among the tasks that often dimmed his eyes and shook his hand from very weariness.

And yet he was not indifferent to recreation, only that work was his master—a master never disobeyed. From early youth he was passionately fond of hawking, and no more welcome present could be made to him than a fine cast of hawks.* It is really quite refreshing to find him after letter upon letter, page upon page, and covering long weary months with state affairs, writing also in the midst of a long business letter to Lord Cottington :

“Your defeat of your hawking sport in Wiltshire is nothing like to mine. For (as the man you wot of said by the pigeons) here hath not been a partridge in the memory of man. So as having a passing high flying tassell, I am even setting him down, and to-morrow purpose, with a cast or two of spar-hawks, to betake myself to fly at blackbirds; ever and anon taking them on the pate with a trunk. It is excellent sport, there being sometimes two hundred horse on the field looking upon us.”† Latterly he had little time to

* “I remember I heard you say you would send a man over hither to provide you some hawks. But it seems, having other employment for him, you have omitted it. Whereupon, I have taken the boldness to present you a cast by this bearer, my uncle Thomas’ ensign, a tassell and a gosshawk to kill some of your pheasants at Woodhouse, of the fairest I could get out of Guelderland, though one of them wants some feathers. I have sent into Brabant for a lammer for you.”—Letter of Lord Haughton to Wentworth, Hague, 1628, i., 46.

† Letter to Lord Cottington, i., 162.

amuse himself with his hawks, though he always kept a number of good ones.* 1633.

Hunting was also a great pleasure, but it may be imagined that his feeble frame and constant attacks of illness would force him more frequently to choose such amusements as required less bodily exertion, as fishing, in which he was very expert, and in which his Grace of Canterbury was not too much engaged in the affairs of the Church to take a deep interest. Lord Wentworth's letters were none the less welcome to him when accompanied by a basket of dried fish, and for which the reverend receiver, not content with gratitude, was fain to return hints suggestive of his desire that it might be accompanied by some dried Irish venison.

In-doors, Wentworth enjoyed a quiet game of primero and mayo, at which he excelled, generally choosing the time after supper. At these rare hours of liberty he would invite a few intimate friends to pass the evening with him; and those who, having only met him in public, were admitted to these little gatherings for the first time, were astonished to find an altogether different personage than they had hitherto seen. All his formality was laid aside, the magnificent Lord-Deputy was transformed into a genial, hospitable, private host, who over a pipe of tobacco would amuse his guests with many a pleasant tale and anecdote.

Of the fine arts he had a just appreciation. He was well acquainted with Vandyke, whose portrait of him may be considered one of the greatest triumphs of that celebrated master, whose wonderful power of portraying the mind in the countenance was never

* Essay by Ratcliffe, vol. ii., Appendix.

1633. more perfectly realised than in his representation of Wentworth. To admirers of the man-milliner species, the creatures whose models adorn the hairdressers' windows, the face of Wentworth would present no attraction. His "ill-favoured brow," as he himself called it, had no single claim to any attribute of what is styled in conventional language "a handsome man." He would not have shone in a ball room. It is impossible to imagine him in a modern court dress. But sheathed in perfect armour, his raven hair and swarthy complexion well harmonising with the sable cuirass and gorget, his dark and glittering eye holding as by a spell, and again and again recalling the gazer, who vainly seeks to turn away, his firmly-closed lips speaking of invincible endurance, still from the ancient hall of Petworth looks forth the very soul of Wentworth, evermore piercing the heart with unconquerable grief that a being created so glorious should have so bowed before sin. Never was there a truer comparison than that by the sternest of his judges; who has yet found for him no lower peer than the fallen Son of the Morning, who never lost all his original brightness, nor appeared less than archangel ruined.*

By Vandyke also were painted in groups the children of Lord Wentworth: "Mrs. Ann," the little steward of the household, as famous for her dancing as for her housewifely manifestations; William, the only son, "Sweet Will," as his father calls him in one of the most pathetic letters ever written; and the little Arabella, the youngest of the three children of Wentworth's second wife. Two others were born of the third wife, a boy and a girl, the first, "little Tom," to

* See Macaulay's Essay on Hampden.

whom, though quite a baby, his father never forgot when absent to send kisses, love, and blessings, but who died of consumption before he had completed his first year, while the girl was still an infant at her father's death, and was among the last in his remembrances. 1633.

Books, it need hardly be said, were among Wentworth's higher resources, and, as was mentioned, in early years he practised himself in composition and soon gained the bold and piquant style to be noted in his letters. Many of these letters, indeed, are models both on account of the style and the substance. The far-famed epistles of Lord Chesterfield are poor and tawdry beside the grave and noble counsels addressed by Wentworth to his brothers, nephews, and children.

Among the quotations in Lord Wentworth's correspondence we find, as was the invariable custom among men of education in his own day, lines from the Latin poets; but Shakespeare, whom of all others he might have been supposed to appreciate, is rarely named or quoted. Chaucer and Donne were his* favourites—if we may judge by the frequent use of their verses. The wide distance between Ireland and Yorkshire interfered with no resolutions formed in the latter place. Though Sir Edward Osborne, the Vice-President, performed the general duties in the place of his chief, yet Lord Wentworth took care to be amply informed of all that went on. His vigilance was, as usual, applied to the delinquencies of all he considered short-comers to the King, as well as to those who had provoked his personal resentment, and his many despotic acts of stern surveillance were not all to the disadvantage of justice, though unfortunately the better

* Letters of the Lord-Deputy and the Rev. E. Garrard.

1633. ones are, except in the original records, too often passed over.

Thus he is accused of tyrannical harshness towards Vernon, one of the judges of the exchequer in the presidency of the North after his departure, by desiring either his removal or that he should be reprimanded.*

Yet this very Vernon had sent out warrants binding all recusants to their good behaviour, without making any exception in favour of those who had already passed through the ordeal and paid the fine. He also in his charge stated that the justices of the peace were now ordered to put in execution the sternest laws against all who did not attend the English Church, and especially the fine of twelve-pence a Sunday, though numbers had already compounded with Wentworth and obtained their written discharge. This was not only a breach of faith with the recusants, but a contempt of Wentworth, who declared: "Betwixt them (the judges of exchequer) I am sure they have made all the recusants ready to run from their compositions, thinking there is no faith to be kept with them on this earth."†

The other offence of Vernon is more doubtful, consisting of his refusal to hear certain depositions which the King had ordered to be read in a case before him, and which had passed under the Great Seal.

Towards the end of this year the case of Sir David Foulis and his son came off in the Star Chamber. That Lord Wentworth had strong cause for exasperation has been seen; that he should demand justice on the head of a slanderer was natural; but that he should, by

* Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. i., 467.

† Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. i., 265.

any means whatever, attempt to influence the decision of the judge otherwise than in open court, is one of those deeds that bear witness to that extraordinary and almost total deficiency of conscience to which we have already so often alluded. His most intimate friend, Lord Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was to be one of the judges, and to him Lord Wentworth wrote with almost passionate earnestness—such as would have been justifiable enough to a counsel, but which received and acted upon by a presiding judge without one word of comment or hesitation, tells a woeful tale of the morals of the bench at this period. Wentworth himself seems utterly unconscious that he was doing any thing derogatory to his own honour. He writes :—

“This term my cause comes to a hearing with Foulis. I send over this servant purposely to attend it. I must wholly recommend myself to your care of me in this, which I take to concern me as much, and to have therein as much the better as I ever had in any other cause all the days of my life. So I trust a little help will serve the turn. The bearer hath a short brief of the cause, which on my word you will find truth, for I have examined it myself. You will find that I suffer merely in this for doing the King’s service, and that, in truth, the arrow was shot at him, albeit they contented themselves to call upon me by the way.

“That the sentencing of this man settles the right of knighting business bravely for the Crown, for in your sentence you will certainly declare the undoubted right and prerogative the King hath therein by common law, statute law, and the undeniable practice

1633.

1633. of all times. And, therefore, I am a suitor by you to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to recommend the cause to the Lords, as well in his own right, as in the right of his absent poor servant, and to wish them all to be there.

“ You are like to begin the sentence, and I will be bold to tell you my opinion thereon. You have been pleased sometimes, as I sat by you, to ask me my conceit upon the cause then before us ; admit me now to do it upon my own cause, for, by my troth, I will do it as clearly as if it concerned me not.

“ First, I desire you to remember how Greenfield was fined for calling my Lord of Suffolk only base Lord ; how a jury gave £3000 damages to my Lord Say for the same words. And then balance the slander most ignominiously and maliciously put upon me, by Sir David and his son, and let me not be less valued than other men, when I conceive that I merit to be more regarded than they. For, first, I suffer merely for my zeal in His Majesty’s service, never having given him the least personal offence in all my life. Secondly, I was then in the heat of His Majesty’s business, which might (by this means taking away my credit) have been destroyed. I was (albeit unworthy) in that place chief Governor under His Majesty, his Lieutenant and President of his Council there, which makes this a direct mutiny, and stirring up a sedition against the royal authority as well as me. Thirdly, it is the most untrue as well as the most malicious calumny that ever was set upon man, there being not so much as the least shadow for anything they charge me with ; so as the former benefits they have received from the Crown and the continual courtesies I had upon all

occasions afforded them make them to stand, I dare say, the most inexcusable men you ever sat upon in judgment. 1633.

“Remember how Sir Arthur Savage was sentenced in that cause of the Lord Falkland, yet there was private grudgings between them, that was but only advising to petition His Majesty in a very foul cause thereby to bring it to justice, and such a ground for it, as surely there was a bloody oppression in the business if they could have light of the right. This much worse in Sir David’s case, no endeavour to bring anything into a way of justice, but libellously to take away my good name by open slandering me in a way without all form or pretence of justice, no crime at all committed, the rights of the Crown only called for and taken of the subject with good contentment to all but himself; and for the person equally considerable, the President there being, in effect, the same thing the Deputy is here.

“Much more I could say if I were in the Star Chamber to speak in such a cause for my Lord Cottington. But I will conclude with this, that I protest to God, if it were in the person of another, I should in a cause so foul, the proof so clear, fine the father and the son, Sir David and Henry Foulis, in £2000 a piece to His Majesty, and in £2000 a piece damages to myself, for their scandal, and they both to be sent down to York, and there publicly at York assizes next, to acknowledge, in the face of the whole country, the right His Majesty hath to that duty of Knightings, as also the wrong he hath done me humbly craving pardon of His Majesty, and expressing his sorrow so to have misrepresented His Majesty’s

1633. most gracious proceedings, even in that course of compounding, where the law would have given him much more, as also for so falsely slandering and belying me without a cause.

“For Sir Thomas Layton, he is a fool, led on by the nose by the two former, nor was I willing to do him any hurt, and so let him go for a coxcomb as he is, and when he comes home, tell his neighbours it was well for him he had less wit than his fellows.”*

Why should Lord Wentworth enter into this elaborate argument if he was really convinced of the justice of his cause? Because in so doing, he was obeying one of the most irresistible laws of his nature that never allowed him to leave out one chance that might conduce to any end in view. No means, however seemingly needless, were wasted. There is something almost childish in his constant iteration of his wrongs, and of parallel wrongs to his, and of precedents for punishment in the above epistle. No truer picture of the inconsistency of human nature, of its ever varied moods, its aspirations and degradations, was ever afforded than by the letters of Lord Wentworth. Only what is carefully concealed in the heart of most of us, or exhibited on a scale too puerile to excite more than ridicule, was in his case brought to light, and manifested in alternations too great in their proportions of good and evil to pass away and rest in the safe obscurity of common men.

The case was heard. The defendants partly confessed and partly denied the charge. How far they were really guilty it is impossible from the scanty record of the trial now to judge. But it is quite

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to Lord Cottington, i., 146.

certain that not to Lord Cottington alone but to every friend who was a member of the Court, and Laud among the number, the plaintiff wrote in the same urgent manner and that the judgment of a tribunal that could thus unblushingly receive such promptings was comparatively valueless—its sentence or acquittal neither disgrace nor justification.

Wentworth gained the day. Sir David Foulis was committed to the Fleet during the King's pleasure, fined £5000 to the King, and £3000 to the plaintiff, ordered to confess his offences both to the King and the Lord Wentworth at the Court of York, the assizes of Yorkshire, where the sentence was to be publicly read, and pronounced incapable of holding any of his former offices. His son was fined £500, and committed to prison, and Sir Thomas Layton was contemptuously dismissed.*

And thus Lord Wentworth trusted to link a terror to his name which should in future deter any from questioning his absolute authority. By such means alone could an irresponsible tyranny be maintained; and by such means he had now become sufficiently hardened to maintain it. There is little doubt that his intentions were at first to be a tyrant only in the ancient Greek sense of the word, that he meant to make the nation at large prosper under his undisputed sway. What mattered the sacrifice of individuals in such a cause? Those who obeyed him implicitly and served the country and the King precisely in the manner he thought best, without question or criticism on their own part, he was prepared to appreciate, to reward, and to protect. All who by words of disapproval

* Rushworth, 8vo, ii., 205.

1633. threatened to impede his cherished plans were rebels and traitors who merited appropriate penalties. But he had to learn the impossibility of curbing the feelings resulting within political bounds. Men in nations could not and would not be treated as children, even for their own good, and the attempt to enforce such a system necessitated a watchfulness and severity for small offences, constantly repeated, that infallibly cramped and distorted the judgment, soured and embittered the temper, till what should have been ignored as trifles or nonentities, unworthy the notice of a private individual, became magnified into dangerous crimes charged with treason to the state. It was not possible in this condition to separate personal and official sensations, and already Lord Wentworth had lost the power to preserve his political wounds from the rankling poison of the hate generated by suspicion and too often to lead to cruelty and revenge.

CHAPTER XI.

THE new year opened proudly and hopefully for Lord Wentworth. He had surveyed his ground, drawn his plans, completed his preparatory operations, and was ready to commence his system in good earnest. Never before perhaps had so enormous and so varied an amount of labour been accomplished in five months. All his reports were ready to lay before the King. The present condition and future prospects of the revenue, the army, the navy, the Church, government, education, commerce—all had been carefully digested and embodied in separate statements expressed in the clearest language. With almost boyish exultation, Lord Wentworth sent the King a surprise in the shape of a New-year's gift, consisting of an ingot of silver weighing three hundred ounces, being the first ever obtained from a silver mine in Ireland, and which he had worked at his own expense. He presented the offering with characteristic ardour. 1634.

“With this new year, these first fruits of your royal mines of Ireland crave admittance into your Majesty's presence, and let them be the good omens that this kingdom now at length in these latter ages may not only fill up the greatness and dominion, but even the

1634. coffers and exchequer of the Crown of England. Sure I am, it becomes not this little one with a sparing hand to communicate of her strength and wealth there, considering with what mass of treasure and streams of blood she hath been redeemed and preserved by that her elder and more excellent sister.”*

He first stated his plan for a permanent revenue, and, in this and all the rest, will be traced, as ever, the same determined spirit steering directly to the desired end, unchecked by difficulty, danger, or scruple of any kind. The shortest path is to be taken, never mind over whose lands it trespasses. Through the barren wilderness the fertilising stream shall be made to flow, even if another stream be drained to fill its channel. It can be, therefore shall be.

At the commencement of 1633, Lord Wentworth found the annual income of Ireland to amount to no more than £84,248 17s. 6d.; the expenditure to £84,977 11s. 5d., and in the background was a national debt of £92,679.*

He said truly, that he begun with empty coffers. To fill them he considered economy to be the first step; and to gain the second, to speculate, however tempting the offer, without a foundation to rest upon, was opposed to his genius whose fire was ever tempered and guided by caution, and led him to gather in the certain fruit before planting anew, and this scanty harvest was to be garnered with a punctuality hitherto unknown.

A proclamation was now issued, commanding all the King's tenants to bring in all such rents as were due at Michaelmas, not later than the end of Michaelmas

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Lord Treasurer, i., 190.

term, and those due at Easter, by the end of Easter term, and by arranging for the payments out of the exchequer to take place at Candlemas and Midsummer, instead of Michaelmas and Easter, as formerly, he ensured time sufficient to gather the revenue before the payments were due. Yet so simple an idea had not occurred to his predecessors who had contrived for their creditors' claims to precede their assets, and, in consequence, were forced to pay in promissory notes which involved the trouble, expense, and uncertainty of cashing. 1634.

"My purpose," said Wentworth, "is to bring the money at once into the exchequer, to take away that untoward course of paying men with assignments, and so, instead of coin, putting them off with a piece of paper to get in their money by as they can, little to the satisfaction of the party, less to mine that must, by this course now taken, be eternally led blindfold along without either knowing what is received, or what is paid, ever kept without money, and be the occasion never so pressing for the issuing, be answered, there is none in purse, and that all is paid forth in assignments beforehand." Every half year, he ordered the accounts should be made up, trusting the deficiency to diminish till it gave place to a surplus which was at once to be sacredly kept till a sufficient amount had accumulated to commence paying off the debts, a task never to cease till they were entirely liquidated. That accomplished, which he already saw in his mind's eye, he hoped to celebrate his triumph by forwarding the next surplus to England. And to ensure correctness in all payments, a new and strict supervision was established over the vice-treasurer, who had in some departments,

1634. as the full office, hitherto been left free. Wentworth himself arranged to audit the accounts weekly.

So much for the actual income. For its future multiplication he now forwarded his calculations.

From forfeited plantations, under the Commission of Defective Titles in Ormond and Connaught, he calculated to raise £5000 a year. Another project was to employ the same men he had engaged to work the silver mines, and whom he states to be the best founders in Christendom, to cast iron ordnance for sale, which would bring in £4000 a year.

Then follows a monopoly of pipe staves to the amount of 200,000, licensed to the Archbishop of Dublin, who was exceedingly desirous of undertaking the speculation. Wentworth proposed that he should have it on condition of paying the King 20s. on every 1000 staves. Or, by retaining it, he reckoned that, without injury to the woods of the kingdom, 500,000 staves might be yearly sold at £3 per 1000, and thus bring in £1500 per annum.

The King's duty on the royal mines of Munster, £500 per annum.

By the Commission of the Concealments of lands, £3000 per annum.

By the Court of Wards, £4000 per annum.

By settling 4d. per quarter tax on malt, £4000 per annum.

By a monopoly of tobacco, £500 per annum.

By buying in the rents payable to the Duchess of Buckingham and Endymion Porter, of the custom, Lord Carlisle's impost and licence of wines, the license of yarn, and other pensions, to the value of £10,000 per annum. The money to buy up these,

Wentworth thought might be obtained from Parliament in the shape of two or three subsidies granted as a composition for the contributions hitherto given to support the civil and military lists. 1634.

Lastly, he had set his heart on the salt tax. Among those above named were several which could not be obtained without a flat denial of the graces granted under Lord Falkland, and which still left Wentworth not quite easy. Of these were the Plantations of Connaught, the Commission of Concealments, the fees in the Court of Wards, the tax on bees.

The manufacture of salt in Ireland was already in the hold of patentees, and the first difficulty in placing the monopoly in the King's possession was to get it out of the present hands. For this the fertile brain of Wentworth soon devised an excuse. This was the absolute inability of the patentees to meet the enormous demand. The reason he assigned, is the scarcity of fuel, and also the quality of the salt which was unfitted for the purpose of drying provisions, for which the salt of Spain or France alone was suitable.

The urgent reason for not allowing the Irish to manufacture their own salt has already been stated. Truth compels the quotation of Lord Wentworth's own words. The first motive for this monopoly having been given in the addition to the revenue, then follows :—

“The second ground is upon the reason of state. For I am of opinion, that all wisdom advises to keep this kingdom as much subordinate and dependent upon England as is possible, and holding them from the manufacture of wool (which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage), and then enforcing

1634. them to fetch their clothing from thence, and to take their salt from the King (being that which preserves and gives value to all their native staple commodities), how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary? Which in itself is so weighty a consideration as a small profit should not bear it down."

Such a sentence, alone, is sufficient to wipe out the memory of a thousand benefits. The cold cruelty of binding in the fetters of contingent rags and famine the "little sister" whose wealth was to enrich the "more excellent" by means of her silver mines, is only equalled by the stolid unconsciousness of wrongdoing by such a design, the undreamed-of suspicion, that such a proposal can be received with any other feeling than that of approbation. Yet probably at the time it was uttered, the spirit invoked in it was no more comprehended by the best men of the day than by Wentworth himself. The same system was certainly followed for long years after his death, though not in this particular article; and to attach Ireland to England by such means, seemed to many no worse than by a standing army. And it is hard to see the difference between such an argument and that used by many excellent persons in our own day, who would keep the poor in ignorance lest they should rise above those menial offices from which their employers shrink, and for which they would fain keep a band of Helots. Before passing judgment on Lord Wentworth in this, as his own, and not his age's crime, it may be well to consider how many of us try to exalt our weaker brethren by striving to develope to the utmost their inherent and highest qualities:—how many of us share the unpleasant tasks of life to give

the less fortunate an opportunity of exercise in the higher? 1634.

These alterations, with the exceptions of the pipe-staves and the Concealments, Wentworth deemed advisable to reserve for the sanction of the Irish Parliament, which he had resolved to advise the King to call. But we may here mention that the salt project fell to the ground, not by any means on account of its iniquity, but because the Lord Treasurer and others among the King's advisers in England, did not consider the profit large enough to make it worth the trouble needed in establishing it.

All these plans about Ireland were cautiously guarded, very few going beyond the King and Secretary Coke, who, it will be remembered, was the one appointed confidential by the King, in response to Wentworth's demand that, when he thought it needful, his despatches should only pass under the eye of one of the English Secretaries of State. Indeed, his caution went beyond this, as very often the King himself was ignorant of what passed between Coke and Wentworth.

"Give me leave, once for all," wrote the Deputy, "to desire that in these consults there may be great privacy observed. For if they be secreted, I trust for a desired issue in all. But if the intentions of his Majesty once breathe out in such a manner that they come to be known here aforehand, I shall promise myself little good in any,—holding it to be, indeed, one chief point of a Deputy, so to fulfil the commands he receives from you on that side, as that he reserve himself, nevertheless, from too familiarly communicating his purposes with the other ministers of this State; who, believe me, are not less to be governed, nor later

1634. bowed to the will of his Majesty, by the Deputy, thus standing in the dark towards them. And I am sure the public suffer far less the whilst through private pretences, whereupon this people are as entirely industrious and attent, with as little aspect to the common good as any other, I am persuaded, in Christendom.”* In this last part of the sentence lies the best excuse that can be made for Lord Wentworth. He really believed a depotism better for the people at large than any other government. The masses, were in his eyes, absolute children, incapable of forming an opinion on their own condition. Every other plan had failed with regard to Ireland, and the miserable incompetence of the Council had been manifested in the results. Unfortunately, the very essence of absolutism is to keep a nation in a state of childhood so feeble that it is unable to choose the benevolent ruler it is implicitly to obey; and, unless some spell can be discovered by which to provide an endless succession of perfect chiefs, the time will come when, as in oriental countries, the head himself is as weak and incompetent as the lesser members—with what result let those oriental countries tell, or let the condition of Ireland speak, when the hand of Wentworth was removed by death. The Lord Deputy’s next report was on the army. He found the infantry grossly ignorant in all that appertains to soldiers, the weapons old and bad, the armour broken, the corslets wanting tassels.† In the cavalry matters were no better. The horses were mean and ill-cared for, the pistols of the riders ineffective, and their staves more troublesome to themselves than

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to Secretary Coke, i., 195.

† The long thigh-pieces attached to the corslet.

dangerous to the enemy. The captains were utterly without interest in the service. They transferred their trusts to other men, and farmed out their companies to their subalterns. In the garrison towns, both officers and men constantly forsook their quarters, living at a distance, the horse soldiers amusing themselves with riding about the country in a desultory manner, that left them utterly at the mercy of any united enemy who might suddenly attack them. 1634.

Quietly, and without the knowledge of the delinquents—the only real method of learning a long standing abuse—Lord Wentworth had examined into these matters during the last months, and as he now understood the disease, to use his own expression, he drew up the following prescription for the cure, as unexpected and unpalatable, as it was needful for the patients. It was ordered—

1. To send a list to every captain of his deficiencies with strict orders that, by the end of six months, all should be completely supplied. With this list was sent a warning that, at the end of that time, the Lord Deputy, in his capacity of Commander-in-chief, would visit the army a second time in person, and should he then find any trace of the former neglect, the officer responsible should be visited with a heavy punishment, and made an example to the rest. And as orders had been so lightly treated hitherto, he warned all listeners that they would find no jest in his words.

2. Once a week, every troop was to be well exercised.

3. Every company was to come by turns to Dublin, thence returning direct to its garrison. The men were to stay in Dublin a month while their successors were

1634. drilling and preparing to make the best appearance in their turn. Thus two companies of foot and one of horse were always to be quartered in the capital, as well to keep up the respect of the people by their appearance as to be ready for service in case of emergency; while the frequent marches would inure the men to a fatigue they were now unable to support, simply from want of the due exercise of their bodily strength. By this means, too, it was calculated that every troop in the army would, in the space of two years, pass under the eye of Lord Wentworth for a sufficient time to enable him to judge of the exact condition of the whole army.

4. The officers were to reside in the garrisons with their men so that, at any moment, the general should know where to find them. Any captain disobeying this order was to lose his command.

Wentworth then turned his attention to a thorough replenishment of the arsenals. He found that there had been the grossest knavery practised in England by the contractors. Swords not worth four shillings each had been charged at ten, muskets that he pronounced entirely worthless, at twenty-three shillings each; the corslets and helmets being the only arms in anything like good order and number.

The stores of ammunition, and provisions for the army were in the same wretched state, there not being one grain of powder in the store of Dublin Castle.

For the sum of £3,500, Lord Wentworth undertook to supply all deficiencies.

The coast-guard had been so speedily ordered on his arrival, that nothing remained but to maintain it in its present condition. He insured serviceable crews

by the hitherto unheard-of custom of punctual payment of their wages, which he undertook to arrange should be always ready for them on their arrival in winter quarters, placing the money in their captain's hands for this purpose. But to this last admirable and most just proposal, the King demurred; "To deposite any monies in the captaines hands we are not yet resolved," he wrote. Not so, however, with Wentworth's other plan, to victual the ships at the rate of sixpence a day, instead of eightpence each man, and therefor supply him with a pound of beef, a pound of bread and a gallon of beer. This saving of twopence was "well approved." * 1634.

Notwithstanding his infatuated devotion to the King, there must have been times when even Wentworth questioned the service he had entered, when bitter thoughts must have crossed his zeal that could not be answered, only stifled and strangled by the belief that he had gone too far now to return. For the selfishness of Charles could not be concealed. Lord Wentworth so completely devoted himself to his interest that, as a general rule, his actions were warmly approved. But if the means required in the least inconvenienced Charles, no thought of his servant's feelings or interest for a moment prevented the King's objections. Constantly he broke his pledged word, by granting places in the Deputy's gift which had been reserved as rewards by the latter for those who had faithfully served him. Constantly, as in the matter of punctual pay to the sailors, Charles thwarted him; and often rather than break his promise, or ruin some important transaction, Wentworth advanced the money out of his private

* Note by the King.

1634. income with the certainty that it was a mere chance
that he would be ever repaid. At this very time,
amidst all the difficulties of such great changes involving so much unpopularity, Charles gave a captain's commission to Sir Lucius Cary,* which was not only a right of the Lord Deputy, but which he had already conferred on another man. Yet Charles persisted in his own nomination, ordering Wentworth to deprive his own officer by whom it had been well earned, and give it to a young Englishman who had neither by work or anything else a particle of claim to it. Two other men were also recommended by the King who was not ashamed to add: "In a word, I recommend them all to you heartily and earnestly; but so as may agree with the good of my service and no otherwise. *Yet so too, as I may have thanks howsoever; that if there be anything to be denied, you may do it, and not I;* commanding you to be confident, until I deceive you, that I shall back you in whatsoever concerns the good of my service against whomsoever, wheresoever there shall be need."†

It is hard to say whether meanness or stupidity predominates in this precious sentence.

Wentworth did not receive it quietly or obey implicitly. He wrote to his friends begging them to use their influence with the king to spare him this indignity.

"I do, indeed," he said, justly enough, "take this for no fair pledge in the first entrance, to have a young gentleman so far prevail, as that I am concluded before I am heard, in that, under favour, which I do not only pretend unto, but without which trust I hold

* Afterwards the famous Lord Falkland.

† Letter of the King to the Lord Deputy, i., 140.

it altogether impossible for me to reduce this dis-
ordered army ; or, being reduced, to contain it in any
good order at all. For if I be not favoured so far, as
that I may be able to make myself friends and draw
unto myself some dependence, by the expectance men
may have from me in these places, that so I may have
assistance and cheerful countenance from some, as I
have already purchased the sour and bent brow of
some of them, I foresee I shall have little honour,
comfort, or safety among them. For a man to enforce
by punishment only, and be deprived all means to
reward some ; to be always in vinegar, never to com-
municate of the sweet, is, in my estimation of it, the
meanest, most ignoble condition any free spirit can be
reduced unto.

“ Besides, I contend not at all for my own profit
(albeit I conceive few men would, even in that, think
themselves favourably treated, who, labouring in-
cessantly in a place as I do in this, with so little help,
taking nothing of any soul but my master’s entertain-
ment, to have the benefit of their pains gathered from
them by others), but that I may not be, by the power
of a young man’s friends in my absence, thus dis-
honoured, made vile in the sight of this people, as to
have him carry this place from me, without so much as
ever acquainting me with it, as if I were no more con-
cerned, no more to be acknowledged in it (being, by
his Majesty’s favour, his General) than if I was the
greatest and meanest stranger in the world.”*

This most just and earnest remonstrance was of no
avail. It is ever one of the infallible marks of a spirit
inherently, hopelessly base, that it can disregard the

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Lord Treasurer, i., 142.

1634. wounded feelings of a friend, or even, if compelled by duty to inflict a mortification, does not strive by every means to soften and soothe the sufferer. But this was a feeling unknown to the coarse nature of Charles. I repeat the word *coarse* in its roughest sense. He is generally credited, even by his enemies, with the qualities of a refined gentleman, but we shall find that the sentence written by him above quoted, and the act which followed it, are by no means the only arguments in favour of those infidel critics who were unable to trace his refinements below his handsome face, his Vandyke dress, and his peaked beard.*

Wentworth was compelled to withdraw his commission from his own nominee and give it to Cary, for Charles, seized with a curious fit of honour, declared that he had promised Lord Falkland, who was lately dead, that his son should have this captaincy, and how could he break his word? That he had signed a solemn written promise to Wentworth never to dispose of such places, and persuaded him to undertake his harassing office by this and similar pledges, was a trifle, and the bitterly wounded pride of the Deputy nothing at all.

How strong was the hold, how perfectly sincere was the devotion of Wentworth to Charles, is proved by his retaining office after this. It needs not the letters he wrote in all directions to tell us how terrible must have been the anguish of such a man. But that he endured it, gave no indulgence to his displeasure, took no revenge, but went on working as earnestly as ever in the service of his unworthy and ungrateful master, showed a nobility of faithfulness that cannot fail to

* See Macaulay's Essay on Milton.

awaken admiration and regret—admiration at the power that could thus subdue itself, regret that it should be devoted to so evil a cause. 1634.

Wentworth had, after anxious consideration, come to the conclusion that a Parliament was unavoidable. He knew it to be utterly distasteful to the King, to whom, indeed, its very name was the most detested word in the whole vocabulary. But the numerous plans he had formed for raising the revenue would all of necessity take a long time to ripen, while the contributions voted would expire at the end of the present year. He, therefore, drew up a paper containing the reasons for a Parliament, together with his proposals for turning it as much as possible to the benefit of the King.

He began by pointing out to the King that, if summoned on the principle of Poyning's Act, by which the consent of the English Council was absolutely needful to its very existence, the danger of an Irish Parliament was not to be dreaded.

"In England," he said, "there is a liberty assumed to offer everything in their own time and order. And this subordination (of the Irish Parliament), whereunto they have been led by the wisdom of former times, is ever to be held as a sacred prerogative not to be departed from, in no piece to be broken or infringed."*

In this remark may be traced the theory that Ireland was to be treated, not as the equal of England, but as a country conquered by her.

Next, he pointed out to the King the need of ready money till his schemes were matured. The revenue at present fell short of the expenditure by £20,000

* *Strafford Papers*, i., 185.

1634. sterling a year, besides the heavy national debt. No ordinary means, except that of a vote in Parliament, could make up this deficiency, and as to the extraordinary ones so carefully planned, to use them without trying common means would, he said, "be to love difficulties too well, rather voluntarily to seek them, than unwillingly to meet them."

Then, too, now was a favourable time to apply for a subsidy. The Council had admitted the need of money, and had again voluntarily contributed it; "but," said the Deputy, "the frightful apprehension which, at this time, makes their heart beat, lest the quarterly payments towards the army, continued now almost ten years, might in time turn to an hereditary charge upon their lands, inclines them to give any reasonable thing in present, to secure themselves of that fear for the future, and therefore according to the wholesome counsel of the physician,—*Dum dolet accipe.*" Should they promise and break their word, too, now would be a convenient time to enforce it, as the King, being at peace abroad, could thus bring forward his compulsory forces at home.

It was also advisable that the Parliament should not long be deferred for another reason, viz., that Wentworth was impatient to put into practice his extraordinary methods for raising money, and if he should do this too soon, it would be said the King was in no need of help, being thus provided; but as, therefore, they must wait till after the Parliament, the sooner it was called, the sooner they could begin. Again, it was possible the Parliament *might* prove refractory, as in England, and have to be dissolved, in which case it would never do for that to happen just as the contribu-

tions came to an end, and if it were called too near that dangerous period, it might take advantage of the empty treasury to demand too much, or, to use the words of the most earnest preacher for satisfaction of grievances before granting supply in the year 1628, "so embolden them to make and flatter themselves to gain their own conditions; and conditions are not to be admitted with *any* subjects, less with this people, where your Majesty's absolute sovereignty goes much higher than it is taken, perhaps, to do in England."

The above proposals are wretched enough, but they sink into insignificance before the last made and accepted, equally without hesitation or the very appearance of shame. Why should there be shame; was it not for the pleasure of the King, and was not the fulfilment of his desires the highest and all-paramount duty of an Englishman? So completely had Wentworth persuaded himself of this, that he had long ceased to dream of measuring those wishes by any law, whether human or divine. The King was accountable to Jesus Christ alone, and, in like manner, if the King was content, his servants were not merely absolved, but justified.

The last proposition, then, was to divide the Parliament into two sessions. The first session, to be held in summer, was to be entirely devoted to supplying the needs of the King, and Wentworth was very sanguine of liberal subsidies. The second session was to be held in winter, and was to be employed in remedying the grievances, or, as the phrase was, "in granting the *graces*" of the people. But by the time the second session arrived, the King's object would be gained, the money would be in his hands; and as to the price, "to

1634. enact so many of those graces as in honour and wisdom should be judged equal, when the putting aside the rest might be of no ill-consequence to other your royal purposes."

As it was to be expected that the graces demanded would be precisely those promised under Lord Falkland, when the Irish were cheated of their Parliament, and as Wentworth by no means approved of many of them, he sent a list to England, cancelling the obnoxious articles and supplying their place with those less dangerous.

As he could not calculate on a ready acquiescence to all things without a packed house and other equally honourable means, he decided on going privately to the Catholic members and pointing out to them that, unless they voted for most liberal subsidies, the twelve pence a Sunday for not attending Protestant worship must be exacted; that the army *must be* paid, either by continuance of the voluntary contribution for some time longer, or by an enforced fine. This done, he would go in equal secrecy to the Protestants and tell them that, unless the army were otherwise provided for, the King really could not yet spare the contribution, and that, as yet, it was not safe to engage the Catholics by attempting to enforce the fine. Thus, by playing one sect against the other, he trusted to make use of both. And to ensure a large balance in his favour, he proposed to make as many officers in the army as possible (who depended on the King for promotion), burgesses who would thus, by an overwhelming number of votes, be able "almost to sway the business betwixt the two parties which way they please." The bishops, as a matter of course, would support the King, and as to

the temporal lords, they were so unpopular that they would not venture to appear in great numbers, but would send proxies, who would easily be managed. 1634.

And thus was Lord Wentworth's scheme complete.

But this scheme was far too liberal to satisfy the King. He thought it admitted the Irish to too much confidence and liberty, and discontentedly sent his corrections to the Lord Deputy. He commanded him not to mention the plan of division into two sessions till the Parliament was actually assembled. "And farther," says his Majesty, "we will admit no capitulations, nor demands of any assurance under our broad seal, nor of sending over deputies or committees to treat here with us, nor of any restraint in our bill of subsidies, nor of any condition of not maintaining the army. But, in case any of these be insisted upon, and that they will not otherwise proceed, or be satisfied with our royal promise for the second session, or shall deny or delay the passing of our bills, we require you therefore to dissolve the Parliament, and forthwith to take order to continue the contributions for our army, and withal to proceed to such improvements of our revenue as are already in proposition, or may hereafter be thought upon for the advantage of our crown."*

It was the old, old story over again. The one duty of the people was to supply the King unconditionally. Their wants, their woes, the natural and most simple rights of humanity, were not so much as to be named. The King, their father, would see to all these. Authority was surely the right of a parent. But Charles never could understand that, so long as a parent claims this absolute power, it is he, not the children, who

* Apostiles of the King, i., 186.

1634. provides the funds and performs all the labour for their maintenance. The moment this is reversed, the day that the children are, by their own efforts, able to support and protect themselves, comes liberty; and with liberty, responsibility to the laws of the land, binding equally on parent and child, not, as in the days of infancy, on the parent alone. Woe to any—man, woman, or nation—who, from any motive whatever, whether of love, or trust, or natural humility, shall surrender their liberty, or yield up their own palpable rights into the hands of another. Infallibly will that trust be abused. For the very stamp and seal of a noble nature is its solemn reverence for the rights of others, and it may always be known by the scrupulous and anxious care with which it places over them a guard beyond its own power to take away.

Had Charles been a man of honour, nay, of honesty, he would have carefully drawn out, before receiving the money, a list of the graces he would grant in return, and an understanding being arrived at, would sooner have renounced his subsidies than broken his pledge, or rather have given such security that his pledge could not be broken.

But the representations of Wentworth of the comparative feebleness of Ireland, her friendlessness, her diseased condition—all, so far from awaking any sensation of pity and protection, simply presented to the eyes of the King an opportunity for taking advantage of the hour of difficulty and distress. And Ireland, too, began to have a new use in his eyes. On her he could try the experiment which had so often failed with the stubborn and more powerful English,—of irresponsible government, and, above all, of an abso-

lute power to put his hand into the pockets of the people, who might be compelled to furnish the metal which their own fetters were to be forged. 1634.

Wentworth held out, as a strong inducement to furnish the present means of support for the army, that as soon as the regular income of the country was added, it should include the army costs, without any other need of special contributions, which were to be wholly done away with. But the King disapproved of this, because "it giveth hope to maintain the army afterwards without further charge to them at all, which we conceive may be drawn to a binding assumption."*

The idea of giving votes to the officers of the army, Charles especially disliked. It would invest them with a power inconsistent with their position as mere tools for enforcing his will, and he had no idea of their being employed in voting at the very time it might be needful for them to be "attending to their charge"—possibly of coercing other men's votes. "Rather," the pure-hearted King wrote to his Deputy, "make your choice by particular knowledge of men's interests."

Of the bishops of the house of peers there was not much doubt; but, to make all sure, the King wrote to the Archbishop of Armagh, the Primate of all Ireland, that he was to be directed by the Lord Deputy.

In the whole of the suggestions that passed between the King and his minister, there was but one honest proposition, and that came from Wentworth.

"It is to be feared," he wrote, "the meaner sort of subjects here live under the pressure of the great men. And there is a general complaint, that officers exact much larger fees than of right they ought to do. To

* Apostiles of the King, i., 185.

1634. help the former, if it be possible, I will find out two or three to make examples of; and to remedy the latter, grant out a commission for examining, regulating, and setting down tables of fees in your courts, so as they shall find your Majesty's goodness and justice watching and caring for their protection and ease both in private and public respects." This was to be passed in Parliament, but the King, in strict accordance with his desire that all unpopular and unpleasant acts were to be performed by Wentworth, and everything gracious and generous by himself, ordered that this reform should be made, but by his express royal authority alone, and by no means done by Parliament.

Bold as was the spirit of Lord Wentworth, it was not in human nature to sustain his position without anxiety. The battle with Ireland was to be fought on his sole responsibility, and in case of failure he alone would have to bear the blame. Though his attachment to the King, like all other sentiments of that nature, greatly blinded him, and his consciousness of his perfect sincerity in his master's interest made him imagine that such ceaseless proofs of his faithfulness could not be unappreciated—though he persuaded himself that the King returned his affection to a great degree, yet he could not be altogether unimpressed with the invariable regard manifested by Charles for his own interests before that of any created thing. And though royal messages of approbation from time to time came to cheer the heart of the Deputy, he desired some confirmation from other quarters, of the light in which his actions were really regarded in England. That so proud a man as Lord Wentworth should be yet so extremely sensitive to the opinion of others is

one of the emphatic proofs of the most touching of all truths—the mutual dependence of the human race, the natural craving of all for sympathy. 1634.

In compliance with the urgent desire of the Lord Deputy, a secret committee was appointed in England, of as few persons as possible, to receive and consider his despatches, in order that they might not be disclosed to the Council at large. This committee consisted of none but friends—viz., the Lord Treasurer Weston, Archbishop Laud, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey (Grand Marshal of England), Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windebank.*

Before proceeding farther with the arrangements for the Parliament, Lord Wentworth wrote to the Earl of Arundel an unofficial letter, in which he betrayed the anxieties that weighed on his mind. Though a consent to the Irish Parliament had been reluctantly wrung from the King, yet it was evident a very little would be enough to change his mind, which was deeply affected by the previous scheme of raising the revenue, and which he was most impatient to put in practice. He seemed almost desirous of a breach with the forthcoming Parliament, in order to gain an excuse for the pleasanter method. Wentworth saw this to be impossible. Without a Parliament, he told Arundel, he could not see how the army was to be maintained, or the other payments kept up. Earnestly he begged support from England, for in Ireland he could find none, and he besought the Earl to tell him what was the real opinion held of his actions by the King and Council. The great work pressed solely upon him, and he asked Arundel, as a friend, to tell him of any

* Letter of Secretary Windebank to the Lord Deputy, i., 210.

1634. unconscious mistake or oversight, assuring him of his readiness to receive advice and follow it.* He had just performed a rather dangerous act. Formerly, the Lord Deputy and Council had authority to try private civil causes between opposing parties. This power had been taken away from Lord Falkland, but was now resumed by Wentworth, doubtless much to the benefit of the poor, whose affairs were thus more speedily settled, but greatly to the chagrin of the lawyers, whose incomes were thereby deprived of numerous profitable fees. In the approaching elections this arbitrary assumption might have an ill effect, without confirmation from the King, and this Wentworth asked his friend to obtain.

It may seem strange that he should need any mediator between himself and the King. But, at times, even *his* spirit seemed to fail and sink under the weight of his cares. He felt bitterly that, among the whole nation of Irishmen, he had not a single friend—not one whom he could trust, not one even among his colleagues at the council board who had any other sentiment for him than fear. The mighty and incessant labours of his daily life brought him no popularity; his titles represented no honours from his countrymen, they were merely tools with which to do the work of the King. In that work he endeavoured to absorb his thoughts and forget his bodily pains, which, however, increased with his mental fatigues. Though at times—probably in the short intervals of improved health, few and far between—his spirits rose and he indulged in many a jest, yet his general tone, like the expression of his countenance, was that of profound

* The Lord Deputy to the Lord Marshal, i., 223.

melancholy. "There is nothing," he wrote at this time, "which comforts me in this place (where I find myself charged with so many cares, and where I am likely to bear out the heat of the day alone, for any help I am to expect hence), saving the testimonies my friends on that side are pleased to give me of their continued kindness and affection towards me. As for fear of punishment or hope of reward, I leave them to such as like them; I cannot be affrighted with considering the one, nor yet transported above measure with anything, I praise God, I enjoy not already. 1634.

"My Lord, I do earnestly expect to receive my directions from thence, since the instant of time much presseth and requires it; and in regard I confess the army hangs over me as a dark and sad cloud, so as it is impossible I should rest in quiet till that be provided for, and thereby the storm passed over which it threateneth to pour down upon me."*

It was a great relief to find that the King agreed with him as to the need of secrecy. Indeed, it seems to have been the only strong point of Charles, that he was able to keep a secret—when, as in the present case, he believed it to be his own interest. Wentworth hastened to express his satisfaction, and his chief motive for caution.

"The choice his Majesty hath made of committees, and the secrecy used in the course of your councils, gives me great satisfaction and hope that, as all will be prudently and weightily resolved on that side, so shall it succeed and prosper on this side. For certainly there is nothing puts our wise men here past their wits (or, if you will, past their practices) like keeping them thus in the dark. And necessary it is we hold

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Lord Treasurer, i., 229.

1634. this temper with them ; for, believe me, my Lord, once for all, they here do not go upon those principles which we must do, that do not with them consider Ireland in chief, but as subordinate to England." *

He soon, too, received an answer from Lord Arundel, telling him of the general approbation with which his measures were received, adding the reassuring words : " All care is likewise taken to keep them still secret." † But what at last arrived to set his mind at rest was the commission ‡ from the King to call together the Parliament, and, at the same time, a notice that Lord Arundel would shortly arrive in Ireland in his capacity of Earl Marshal, to assist the Deputy in his examinations of defective titles, from whose results a rich royal booty was eagerly expected by the King. But, even while sending the commission, Charles could not control his hatred or forbear to give it expression.

" There is one general and one particular," he wrote to Wentworth, " that I will name to you to take care of—to wit, the parliament and Arundel ; in a word, to content them both, so far as may not be to my prejudice. As for Arundel, I need say no more ; but as for that Hydra, take good heed, for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have a great trust in your care and judgment. Yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service though their obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give.

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Lord Treasurer, i., 229.

† Letter of the Lord Marshal to the Lord Deputy, i., 233.

‡ The King to the Lord Deputy, i., 231.

"This I would not say if I had not confidence in your 1634.
courage and dexterity, that in that case *you would set
me down there an example of what to do here.*"*

What a plot is revealed in the last sentence! How terribly was the English jealousy of the King's power in Ireland in later days justified, probably much earlier than the most sagacious of the patriots knew! Ireland was to be the training school where the most insolent experiments were to be made—Ireland the furnace where the weapons of tyranny were to be forged. It is easy to see what visions of the future at this time rose before the mental eye of Charles. He could hardly wait till the sword was tempered.

At length, Wentworth was enabled to call his Privy Council and impart the joyful intelligence that a Parliament was to be summoned at last. He desired advice as to the legal form of issuing the summons, and appointed a committee to consider what forms were to be taken, consistently with Poyning's Act, by which everything intended to be brought forward in Parliament was first to be sent over to the Privy Council in England for approbation, a proceeding which almost neutralised the power of the Parliament, and made it little else but a ratification of the will of the English Council.

The demand of the King was monstrous, even for him. He expected the Irish members to draw out a blank form of a grant of subsidies which he was to fill up with the amount he required, and they were humbly and unconditionally to grant. To this they demurred. They proposed to grant a sum just sufficient for the needs, and no more, having a natural and

* Letter of the King to the Lord Deputy, i., 233.

1634. intense reluctance to leave a surplus which should be carried over and placed in the English treasury. That this was an ultimate ambition of Wentworth has been seen, but he certainly did not dream of such a possibility for long to come. The committee also desired to follow that example Lord Wentworth had so earnestly set in 1628 in the English parliament—of presenting their grievances with the vote for subsidies, and demanding the settlement of the former before the latter.

Great can be the effrontery of human nature, but hardihood certainly reached its utmost height when, without the faintest allusion to his former loudly asserted and verbally unretracted principles—without saying that he had altered his opinion in some degree, Lord Wentworth told the committee that he “feared they had begun at the wrong end, thus consulting what might please the people in a Parliament, when it would better become a Privy Council to consider what might please the King.” * He said that he could not as yet tell them what his Majesty would propound, but he knew that, like all other great and wise princes, the King expected to be trusted, *nor did ever any deserve it better from a people (!)* That he would in no case admit of conditions, or be proceeded withal, as by way of bargain or contract; that he would be provided for as the Head, and care for his people as members; but still, according to the order of reason, nature, and conscience—himself first, his people afterwards!

But, to reassure the hesitating Council, Lord Wentworth said he durst engage his life, children and honour, that if they went the way wise men should, they might have whatever was fit and reasonable for

the good and contentment of the people. As to the Council putting down any fixed sum for the subsidy that was to be furnished by the Irish, that would never do. It would look as if they put a constraint on the generous and loyal impulses of the nation and hindered them from giving as much as they desired. 1634.

Humbly the Council listened, and having ventured to propose two subsidies which together should amount to thirty thousand pounds in one year, and which would thus be ten thousand more than the voluntary contribution, Wentworth told them such a proposal was not to be listened to. They must be prepared for His Majesty to demand a permanent revenue for his army, seeing that, even by their own confession, the army was the nerve of the government and indispensable for the safety of the country. They could not expect the King to come to them once a year with his hat in his hand for money for its support only to preserve themselves. It was far below his dignity to do such a thing for himself, much less for them. And the army was for them alone and for their safety. He wanted none of their money for his foreign affairs, although, in truth, they ought to contribute to that expense as well as England, seeing they sailed in the same ship with her. But this money they were now called on to pay was only for their own defence and safety; not one penny would go into the King's private coffers. Let them lay their hands on their hearts and say if ever the desires of a mighty and powerful King were so moderate, taking, asking nothing for himself, but all for them.

However, Lord Wentworth advised them not to deceive themselves, for even if they fought against

1634. their own well-being, they might rest assured his Majesty as Pater Patriæ would not suffer it, but he would save them whether they would or no, and do that by his own regal power which he first expected to have accomplished with their concurring assents.

As to the contribution of twenty thousand pounds a year towards the army being a charge too heavy for Ireland, the idea was ridiculous. In reality, it was not worth naming, too small to be felt, if properly distributed among the wealthy. As it was, the rich had been spared, and the expenses had been ground by them out of the poor. Had it been the reverse, instead of the murmurs they spoke of, there would have been prayers and praises for his Majesty's person and most blessed government, and no man have been pinched.

But this must now be all placed on a right footing. The King, indeed, would rather have it settled by parliament as the more beaten path, but a path in no way more lawful than by his Prerogative Royal which he could at once adopt, if the ordinary way failed.

If the Irish were so unwise as to cast off the King's gracious proposals and their own safety, why, it must be guarded without them. As for Lord Wentworth himself, as their true friend, he must assure them of his belief in their affording the King the best means of fulfilling his good intentions towards them. As a faithful servant, he would certainly counsel his master to protect them by the ordinary means, but, if they disappointed him, he should take up his position as head of the army and deem it a great honour to die in support of the King's rights.

Here Wentworth sent a thrill through the nerves of

the wealthy among the listeners by saying that he had no doubt the King would be able to fulfil his intentions by exacting his rights from those alone who were able to afford it, without calling at all on the poor. As to their idea of never raising a greater supply than was just enough to meet the present needs, he begged he might never hear of that again. Assuredly the King would resent it with huge disdain to have his wisdom so circumscribed as not to be held worthy to be trusted with ten thousand pounds more or less! What was to become of all the debts of the Crown, which they knew were nearly a hundred thousand pounds?

But this Lord Wentworth did assure them, that if they would in Parliament give the King the needful amount, he would undertake the King would pledge himself not to meddle with one penny of the overplus, above twenty thousand pounds for the army till all the Crown debts were paid.

But look at it in any light. What an opinion that no surplus was needed. How were the forts to be kept in repair, the magazines to be filled, extraordinary calls to be met, such as came upon even private men, much more upon nations? Suppose a foreign enemy were suddenly to land: that had happened before, and might happen again. Even if none of these accidents occurred, it was yet utterly needful to have at least forty thousand pounds in the exchequer, to put the kingdom in such a state of defence as was needful for its protection, and, as in honour and wisdom, a good King was answerable for to the world, his people, and himself. Suppose a misfortune should happen while they were thus unprepared; how they would themselves bewail their false security, and how others

1634. would blame them for their improvidence. They must not for the future look to be the same thorn in the side of England in peace that they had been in war, but must now look to employ a time of peace in preparing for the emergencies of war. They must do their part towards the public welfare.

In fine, Lord Wentworth assured them in his usually earnest and emphatic manner (in the present instance not unconscious) that, upon the peril of his life and the life of his children, it was absolutely in their power to have the happiest Parliament that ever was in this kingdom, that their way was most easy, no more than to put absolute trust in the King without offering any condition or restraint at all upon his will. Let them but do this, and they might rest assured to receive back, unasked, all that reasonably and fittingly they could expect; and if they found their confidence deceived, then he would be content to be esteemed neither a person of discretion, trust, or honour for ever after.

Again, he besought them to look well about them, and be wise by the misfortunes of others. They were not ignorant of what had happened to the Parliaments of England, let them not break against the same rock of distrust which had destroyed their neighbours. He could tell them, as one who had his eyes as wide open as any other man, that whatever was the cause ascribed, it was in reality nothing else but that the King most justly refused to tarnish his honour by renouncing his right of the trust of the people, and their ill-grounded and narrow suspicions. This suspicion it was that was that spirit of the air that walked in the darkness betwixt them, abusing both; whereon if only one beam of light and truth had happily reflected, it had vanished

like smoke from betwixt them, and left the King much better satisfied and contented with his people and them much more happy.” 1634.

The reply of the Council to this speech is in itself a complete and decisive explanation of the condition of Ireland. Surely, never before were the destinies of a country committed to so miserable, mean-spirited, hopeless and slavish a band as composed the committee addressed by the Lord Deputy. That he should have felt the unutterable contempt he expressed was inevitable. And when we remember that the only other authorities in addition to this wretched Council were the Roman Catholic priests, the selfish tools of a foreigner whose only cares connected with Ireland were the Peter's pence and other impositions he could wring from them, our wonder ceases that Wentworth should, in Ireland at least, honestly believe his own undisputed rule the best for the country as well as the King.

With the recent memory of the wicked treachery that had been practised upon them by the King in the time of Lord Falkland, with the full knowledge of how he had again and again broken his pledges to the people of England the moment he had obtained the money granted on condition of the fulfilment of those pledges, with the fate of the Petition of Right before them—thus did these representatives of government in Ireland reply.

“With all cheerfulness,” they assented to every word uttered by Lord Wentworth, and instantly promised to follow his advice and take his warning. They said they would entirely conform to his words. It was quite just that Ireland should defray her own expenses. They would do nothing that could bear the semblance

1634. of a condition. They would send to the King no proposals for laws but just what the Lord Deputy liked; nay, if it would please him better, they would send over the bill for the subsidy unaccompanied by any petition whatever. In short, they surrendered themselves and their country entirely into the hands of the King, and his Deputy had only to use his own discretion in such changes as he thought fit to represent as needful.*

With his usual diligence, Wentworth sent this pleasant intelligence to England, desiring that no time might be lost in passing the necessary documents under the Great Seal and returning them to him. Neither winds nor waves must now cause delay. If, when they reached Holyhead in their voyage back, the regular post barque could not venture, he wrote, "I will send an open boat of Howth, which will, by God's help, tide them over within a day or two, which way soever the wind blows."

Nothing now remained but to examine the records to find what forms of state were to be used in opening the Parliament, which Lord Wentworth resolved should lack nothing that could render it imposing and magnificent. To the neglect of such forms he attributed much of the remarkable carelessness and familiarity of the officials which was so intensely repugnant to his ideas of authority and discipline, and he had obtained a special command from the King to enforce the minutest observance in these respects, none of which had been heeded before his arrival. But now, none of the Privy Council, except himself, were allowed to be covered in his presence; none might speak to the other, but must address him alone. They were

* The Lord Deputy to Mr. Secretary Coke, i., 238.

enforced punctually to attend on committees, a matter previously considered of no account. On special days of solemnity, marked in the calendar, the nobles in their robes, the bishops in their surplices, the counsellors in their gowns, the judges in their ermine, were all obliged to follow in procession, mounted on richly-caparisoned horses behind the Lord Deputy, who was preceded by the captains and non-commissioned gentry of the county to the church, where, surrounded by his court, he sat in state. 1634.

On great days, none but noblemen were permitted to enter the drawing-room of the castle, none but counsellors to promenade the gallery. The great officers of state, as the chancellor, treasurer, &c., were preceded by their gentlemen ushers, their servants remaining in the ante-room, and all bareheaded.

"I confess," says Lord Wentworth, in explanation of his persistence in these matters, "I might, without more words, do these things, but when I may seem to take anything to myself, I am naturally modest, and should be extreme unwilling to be held supercilious or imperious amongst them, so as I cannot do therein as I both could and would, where I was commanded. Therefore, if there be held duties fit to be paid to his Majesty's greatness, which is alike operative and to be revered through every part of his dominions, I crave such a direction in these, as in the other, that so they may know it to be his pleasure. Otherwise, I shall be well content they may be spared, having, in truth, no such vanity in myself as to be delighted with any of these observances." *

As he found all utterly ignorant in Dublin about the

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to Secretary Coke, i., 201.

1634. order of opening the Parliament, he begged that the English heralds would draw out the programme, together with exact precedents for choosing the Speaker, and all such incidents.

Wentworth strongly advised that both the native and titular Irish peers should be encouraged to send proxies rather than appear in person, and he sent over a list of such proxies as he desired to be chosen.

All public meetings were prohibited in Ireland, both before and during the Parliament—for it was not desirable that any opportunity should be given for a possible dissent from the position of the Council, especially as a gross act of injustice had just been perpetrated.*

The Lord Chancellor, as a matter of information merely, told the Deputy that, hitherto, the Lords of the Pale had always been consulted on Parliamentary matters, and suggested their being called to Council. But Wentworth, affecting great astonishment, told him that to do so would be to exceed the King's warrant. A few days later, the Earl of Fingal called upon the Deputy for the express purpose of giving him the same intelligence, adding that, before a Parliament, it had ever been the practice of the Lords of the Pale to consult together as to what they should propound in Parliament for the good of the people.

But the Deputy looking, as he expressed it, on the earl "as the mouth to open for them all, thought fit to close it as soon and surely" as he could. He told him that the calling of Parliaments was the peculiar privilege of Kings, and so locked up in the sacred breast of His Majesty, as it were want of good manners, in his

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to Secretary Coke, i., 246.

servant (Wentworth himself) to pry into or impart his counsels further, or by other degrees than should, in his own good time, be revealed unto him. As for Lord Fingal, the Deputy said, he must tell him, that His Majesty might judge it a high presumption in him, or any other private man, to elect themselves inquisitors over his gracious purposes towards his subjects, which were set with so much love and justice, in so much height and perfection, as could not, by them all put together, be so well disposed or guided as they were already by those clearer lights of his own goodness and wisdom.

That, assuredly, His Majesty would reject with scorn and disdain all such foreign instructors and moderators betwixt him and his people.

Much more was said in the same style and met in the same abject spirit that seemed common to all. Lord Fingal explained that he had only come to remind the Deputy of what had always been the custom, a custom Lord Falkland had complied with. The last was an unfortunate remark. Wentworth haughtily answered, that Lord Falkland was no rule for him, much less for his great master to follow, and coldly counselled the earl not to busy his thoughts with matters of this nature, but leave them to the King and those with whom the King was pleased to instruct them. At the proper time, he should know as much as it was fit for him to know.

It was by such words and tones as these that Lord Wentworth, perhaps more than by his deeds, planted in so many bosoms that personal hatred which everywhere followed him. For though he was extremely anxious as to the opinion of those he valued, yet he was equally careless where he was indifferent. And it was impos-

1634. sible that such cool insolence, addressed to an Irish peer who had done nothing to provoke it, should not rankle and render doubly bitter the deprivation of his national rights. But, at present, the personal feelings of all were alike disregarded. Everything gave way to the iron will of the Lord Deputy. The writs of summons to the Parliament were sent out, and a last meeting of the Council called to settle the demands to be made. As, in the first instance, on Wentworth's arrival in Ireland, Sir Adam Loftus, the Lord Chancellor, whose craven spirit aptly represented the board, was the spokesman of what he knew was expected. Therefore, when the Deputy demanded every man's opinion severally at the board, what it was fit the King should demand, considering the present great debt and charges of the army, Loftus proposed the enormous grant of six subsidies, four of which were to be paid after two years had elapsed. The bill was unanimously passed, and a formal paper to that effect transmitted to the King. No condition, or even request of any kind, was attached to it, the Council humbly stating that none could be found so unjust amongst them in themselves, or so unthankful to His Majesty, as to think of a smaller supply, and that, too, "*after so long a forbearance from being called upon in Parliament.*" *

The triumph and delight of Wentworth were unbounded. Again he solicited that the clever means by which he had produced this longed-for result should be secret.

He took care that Loftus should have full credit for his speech ;† for Wentworth, if stern to report offences,

* The Council of Ireland to the King, i., 264.

† Letter of the Lord Deputy to Mr. Secretary Coke, i., 259.

was equally prompt in pleading for those who had rendered service ; and strongly counselled that, in any case, His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give order, upon the receipt of this welcome vote, that a letter should be written to the body of the Council expressing the understanding of their good affections and the princely acceptance of such their good intentions towards his service. In the correspondence between Laud and Wentworth occur two mysterious words used like a cipher to cover some hidden meaning. These are the words, "*Thorough*" and the "*Lady Mora*." No direct explanation, no key certified by the writers, has as yet been found. But the first has been generally supposed to mean the absolute unwavering system pursued by Wentworth in Ireland, and longed for and attempted by Laud in England. The latter expression is more difficult to unravel. It has been supposed by Mr. Hallam to apply either to the English Council or to Lord Treasurer Weston, though he acknowledges there are contradictions in such an interpretation. But, certainly, if any system could merit the name of the first, we have here a true specimen.

On the 14th of July, 1634, the Irish Parliament was opened, Lord Wentworth representing royalty with as much pomp as if the King himself occupied his chair of state. Nothing was omitted that could impress the spectators with that temporary awe excited by outward magnificence.

First came a company of infantry soldiers, followed by trumpeters and a troop of cavalry. Then came the officers of the law, from the clerks in Chancery up to the Lord President of Munster. Then followed the

1634. barons, commencing with the youngest, the bishops, the viscounts, earls, the four archbishops of Ireland (Tuam, Cashel, Dublin, and Armagh), and the Lord Chancellor. Preceded by the Earl of Ormond, who bore the Sword of State, and the Earl of Kildare bearing the Cap of Estate, came the Lord Deputy, gorgeously attired, and surrounded on all sides by his guards. His long train of imperial velvet was borne by three gentlemen, and a troop of cavalry closed the procession. Thus they proceeded to the church of St. Patrick, where the Deputy was met at the door by the Dean, the prebends and the choristers, who, singing the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, conducted the Lord Deputy to his seat. They then heard the service, followed by a sermon, and returned in the same state to the castle, where the Parliament was formally opened.* The dogged perseverance, the incessant labour, the minute attention to small details, as well as the comprehension of great generalities, were in Lord Wentworth singularly united to an impulsiveness and ardour that, at times, burst forth in an almost boyish manner, and formed the source of that enthusiasm which was the greatest attraction in his character.

He was, at this period, brimming over with joyful excitement, for which he probably paid afterwards with all that reaction of indescribable suffering too well known, and only known, by the possessors of an exquisitely sensitive nervous system.

But he could not control his exultation or wait for his business packets to write to Coke an account of the opening. He wrote :

* Manner of Proceeding to Parliament, &c., i., 282.

“The meeting was, I am persuaded, with the greatest civility and splendour Ireland ever saw. And, I assure your lordship, the aspect of the nobility, clergy, and gentry, far above that which I expected, and all this accompanied with a singular cheerfulness towards His Majesty’s affairs. 1634.

“Surely this kingdom is in an excellent way ; and England to hope for a considerable supply from hence ; which hitherto hath been of infinite expense unto us. If you, on that side, will be content to let them a little while longer taste the sweets themselves, and not too hastily expect to gather from them, and apply them to yourselves. There being nothing in the world can so much distemper them, as to see the debts and bounties of that Crown answered hence, before the debts and burdens which lie on this side be first discharged with their own. *As in good faith stands with all the reason and justice in the world they should be.*” *

The last sentence is one of those too rare acknowledgments of the claims by the side of the capabilities of poor Ireland. Had they always gone side by side in the policy of Lord Wentworth, what might he not have made of her ! And yet, to the heavy judgment passed on him for what he did, scarcely be added condemnation for such omissions. For had he tried this equal rule, he would speedily have been recalled.

Justice and Charles the First were two masters whom no man could serve. All alike found this. For those who tried it, like the young Lord Falkland, death on the field of battle was the recompense.

Even at the very hour of his success—success

* The Lord Deputy to Secretary Coke, i., 275.

1634. gained by himself alone, and whose maintenance depended utterly on his judgment, Wentworth could not feel secure that all would not be overthrown by the impatient greediness of the King, who had been ready to undo the incalculable service rendered by the Deputy in ensuring the safety of the Channel, rather than pay the poor sailors their wages when due. And thus, in the same letter above quoted, Wentworth deprecatingly adds :

“ I beseech your lordship, consider we are but now entering here upon our spring, and let us not be nipped in the head as soon as we peeped forth. Be pleased to keep fair quarters with us awhile, and let not the importunity of any cause you to give order for transferring of any debts hither till our own be satisfied, and then take what you please. Nay, I am most confident you may hereafter laughingly expect an account for a very considerable revenue to be had from hence yearly. But withal, I must plainly express myself beforehand, that if you look for and exact it too early, you disorder all the affairs on this side, extremely disquiet them in their proceedings here, and utterly take away my credit and power to serve the King in this place, which preserved, I am most confident, I shall be able to do with great success and advantage to the Crown.”*

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Lord Treasurer, i., 276.

CHAPTER XII.

THE fatigues of the ceremonial were sufficient for 1634.
the first day of the Parliament, and therefore all real business was deferred till the day following, when Lord Wentworth made his opening speech. Had not the previous humility of the Council prepared us for anything, we might be surprised at the tone and language of this singular oration. But the success of similar words seems to have satisfied the speaker his was the style best adapted to his hearers, and the first and greatest portion of his present address was almost a repetition of that which had drawn such implicit acquiescence from the Council.

One of his practices was, by seemingly accidental expressions, to assume unpleasant matters as recognised truths, one of which was, that Ireland was a conquered country, and had only such claims as the victor might grant. Another was, that any request or consultation made by the King was of course only politeness on his part, his prerogative governing the matter in reality independently of all else.

Agreeably to the preconcerted plan, he now informed the members, for the first time, that the King had arranged to divide the Parliament into two sessions, the first for himself, and the second for them.

1634. After repeating his former arguments for the revenue, and recounting the great blessings hitherto enjoyed by the Irish, he pointed to the fact of the immense expense their country had been to England, and the impossibility of her any longer being relieved from the just responsibility of her own support. In this he used the following remarkable words—words whose weight sank heavily into hearts that at the time bore the burden with silence but not oblivion. Years afterwards, the echo resounded in Wentworth's ears.

"Can you," said he, "be so indulgent to yourselves as to be persuaded you must ever be exempt from your proportion of the charge, living in the more *subordinate* kingdom? If it be so, certainly the stars were more propitious to you than to any *conquered* nation under heaven."

He then cautioned them against any private meetings to discuss politics, or plan beforehand any speech or request afterwards to be uttered in Parliament. He warned them that it was unlawful. They might speak in Parliament alone. "His Majesty expects not to find you muttering, or, to name it more truly, mutinying in corners. I am commanded," he continued, "to carry a very wakeful eye over these private and secret conventicles, to punish the transgression with a heavy and severe hand, therefore it behoves you to look to it."

He had recommended for their Speaker, a creature of his own, the Recorder of Dublin. But, finding him unwelcome to many, he coldly told them to choose another, only to remember that it would be ill taken if they refused the one recommended by the King's Council. England never did so. And after all it rested

with the King, who could reject every Speaker presented till they chose the one agreeable to his Majesty. 1634.

With a view of allowing time to pass the Bill for the subsidies and no longer—so that no residue might remain for the discussion of unwelcome questions, the first session was limited to three weeks. While the question was agitated of the supplies, the recusant party in the House made an attempt to enfeeble the Protestant portion by declaring many members illegally elected on account of their non-residency. Wentworth at once hastened to turn this to advantage. He stated in Council that the recusants with all their faults were desirous of exhibiting their loyalty to the King, and that their reason for being so anxious to unseat so many of the Protestants before the Bills for the subsidies were passed, was that the House might be filled with Papists who would then pass the Bills in triumph and have the entire credit and honour of thus supporting the government, and, by making that work wholly their own, would make themselves more considerable and lay a greater obligation on the King than he desired to be under, or was at all judicious, seeing the present condition of affairs and the strength of the Catholic party. It was quite possible they might gain the day, as, according to the letter of the law, many Protestants, were unlawfully seated in the House. By delay, therefore, the Protestant party might become much weaker, certainly not stronger, and the only result would be to throw a large amount of power and influence into the hands of the Catholics. Therefore, it was the Deputy's absolute opinion that the only wise course would be to bring forward the Bill for the subsidies the very next morning.

1634.

The President of Connaught, who was possessed with more fear than love of the Deputy, answered that now the Lord Deputy had delivered his vote, none of them would dare to argue it against him, otherwise he conceived many would not have ventured to settle the money so soon.

Loftus, in terror lest he should be included in this presumptuous "many," before any other had time to speak, declared that he was so convinced of the propriety of bringing forward the Bill the next day, that, had the Lord Deputy thought otherwise, yet he should still have craved leave to dissent from him. But the President of Connaught had struck a dangerous chord, implying as he did, that if any unpleasant consequences resulted from such precipitancy, the blame must rest with the chief, and he was at once informed by Wentworth that the Lord Deputy was very indifferent what resolution the House should fall on, serving too just and gracious a master ever to fear to be answerable for the success of affairs in contingency, so long as he did sincerely and faithfully endeavour that which he conceived for the best. There were two ends he had his eyes on, and one he would infallibly attain unto. Either a submission of the people to his Majesty's just demands, or a just occasion of a breach, and either would content the King.

A submission was undeniably and evidently best for the people, but a breach was better for the King than any supply they could give him in Parliament. And, therefore, he did desire that no man should deceive himself; his master was not to seek in his councils, nor was he a prince that either could or would be denied just things.

The course he advised was that the Master of the Rolls should move the supply on general grounds, enforcing it with the best arguments in his power. Having done this, he was to put it to the question and divide the House. If carried, the House would at once go into committee, and not leave till the supply was gained. If the question were lost, then let it rest till it should be decided in Council what further steps were to be taken. 1634.

Wentworth then abruptly broke up the Council, telling them that the King expected every member should act consistently with the written resolution sent to him of six subsidies to be paid in four years, and they must, therefore, use all their influence and credit with their friends to procure this sum which seems to have been voted without due certainty of its realisation.

The morrow came. Christopher Wandesforde being the Master of the Rolls, it is needless to say that he moved the question of the subsidies with all the art and eloquence of which he was master. On the division, it was carried by twenty-eight voices, and the House instantly went into committee. And thus Lord Wentworth was enabled to write as the result: "that side, fearing to lose their part of the honour and thanks, came round with all the cheerfulness possible, and the other surprised, and no time left to recollect themselves, they all with one voice concluded the gift of six subsidies, as was desired, before twelve o'clock!" This done, he is able to say with a sneer at the end of the three weeks appointed for "the King's business":

"The rest of the session we have entertained and spun them out in discourses, but kept them, nevertheless, from concluding anything, yet have finished

1634. within the first limited time. No other laws passed but the two Acts of Subsidies, and that other short law for confirming all such compositions as are or shall be made upon the Commission of Defective Titles.

“And thus, sir, have we already, God be praised, obtained more than ever I durst put you in hope of on that side, which I can, next to his Majesty’s wisdom, ascribe to nothing so much as the secrecy wherewith this business hath been carried on all sides, which I crave leave still instantly and humbly to recommend to his Majesty to be observed in the course of his affairs here, as being indeed of far more consequence and assurance than you can, I persuade myself, possibly believe on that side. And in good faith, I am infinitely comforted to serve so secret a master and in being assisted with so secret a secretary as yourself.”

Another rather ludicrous incident occurred which Lord Wentworth hastened to turn to advantage, and which deserves notice as affording another illustration of the childishness of the members, and how utterly unfit they were to be entrusted with the destinies of a country.

This was a quarrel between the two Houses of sufficient importance to keep them entirely asunder and prevent any single deliberation in unison on the welfare of the state. It was caused by the refusal of the Commons to confer with the Lords unless they might sit with their heads covered as well as the peers. But to this the Lords would not agree, and the consequence was an open breach which lasted the entire session. Lord Wentworth carefully avoided all attempts to make peace between them, having, as he declared, found how great was the difference in managing them

when they were at war. And also they were prevented from doubling the strength of the petitions for the "graces" which now came from the Commons alone, and suggested also a new means of weakening opposition to Wentworth, who considered it so valuable as to write for directions how to keep open the quarrel. 1634.

"I conceive," said he, "it will be very easy the next sessions either to agree or keep them still asunder. I desire there may be a thought bestowed upon it, at some leisure, and let me have my directions, which I shall readily conform myself unto either way."

Like the Commons, the Lords soon found their weakness alone. Though, even had they united, it is doubtful whether they would have been able, seeing the quality of their members, to successfully oppose the Deputy,—still, it is certain he would have found more difficulty in enforcing his doctrines so utterly subversive of the just liberties of a representative assembly.

It is generally held both foolish and culpable to open a struggle in even a just cause unless there be a fair prospect of success in the end. But such an argument is, to say the least, doubtful. It has been truly said that the bodies of many prophets must be rolled into the gulf that yawns wide and deep between the ideal and the actual before the successful man comes in the fulness of time, at God's command, to lead men into the promised land, reaping where they did not sow. And no living man could see the possibility of emancipation for Ireland in his own day. One certainty, however, he could see, that of perpetual slavery if none arose, regardless of any consequence to himself, to protest against the degradation of human nature. Hampden

1634. could not foresee the triumph of his principles, but he could die for them. It is the bold first word uttered against wrong that is, after all, its real death-blow. Every obstacle thrown in the path of wickedness weakens its force and lessens the temptations of its perpetrators. In that sense there is no such thing as failure in the battle for a good cause.

The Lords employed their three weeks in drawing up various laws with the intention of their confirmation into statutes. This aroused the jealousy of Wentworth, but not deeming it wise to interfere till the subsidies were passed, he waited till the very last day of the session and then, having secured the supplies, he informed the agitated peers that in drawing up laws in this formal manner, they had acted illegally, and in defiance of Poyning's Act. That, as he was well aware they had acted inadvertently, he wished to do no more than register his own protest against such an invasion of the King's prerogative. And he besought them to be better advised for the future and not to exceed the power which was left them by law, viz., "A liberty only to offer by petition to the Deputy and Council such considerations as they might conceive good for the Commonwealth, by them to be transmitted for laws or staid, as to them should seem best."

The terrified peers instantly withdrew their improvements, acknowledging on the spot that Wentworth was right, and he had nothing more to do in the matter beyond ordering his protest to be entered in the Rolls as a warning to future reforming peers.

But abject as were the members of both Houses, yet each separately having granted the enormous subsidies and shown an oriental spirit of obedience in all things

else, yet ventured to press for a confirmation of the 1634
graces promised in Lord Falkland's time and withheld by the excuse of a formal error which was now literally corrected. The dullness and blindness of these men at least equalled their humility. Nothing could be plainer from the beginning than that the graces were not to be granted. Every word and deed of the Lord Deputy showed that the King was resolved in no way to be bound. Every means of compulsion had been taken from the Parliament which had surrendered the country unconditionally into the power of the King. And to reduce another to slavery and then offer to grant him all the rights and privileges of a freeman is a phenomenon as yet unheard of in the world of human beings. Freedom must unshackled claim her own—she can receive nothing in fetters.

On the close of the first session, the House of Commons appointed a committee to prepare their acts and petitions for the next—the people's session. These, of course, included the graces. But Wentworth, seeing how earnest both Houses were on that point, and fearing if he allowed the matter to be so long discussed, that by the time of the next meeting which was appointed to take place on the 4th of November, that the difficulty of refusal would be greatly increased, resolved to scotch the snake at once. Accordingly, having, as usual, brought the Council to his views, a letter was sent to the Committee of the Commons to tell them that the Lord Deputy and Council could not grant that most longed for of all things, the confirmation of all titles and estates so old as sixty years, or indeed any other they believed to be prejudicial to the crown. So far from that, they must, as faithful servants, *advise*

1634. his Majesty not to grant anything prejudicial to his royal rights and to represent unto him that he was not bound either in justice, honour, or conscience to concede them.

Thus, as Wentworth boasted, he and the Council had placed themselves between the promises of the King and the Commons, and taken on them the sole weight of "his Majesty's pretended engagements." He proposed to send over a list of the graces to the King with such alterations and utter cancellings as seemed convenient, and when Parliament met, he would boldly assume the responsibility of his advice.

CHAPTER XIII.

AMONG the murmurers against the relentless will of the Lord Deputy was one revolter whom even he could not silence. This was his own fragile and suffering body. The lack of exercise in the open air, of needful rest and relaxation, of regular sleep, of those indulgencies which, belying their name, are the barest necessities of a nervous invalid, provoked the anger and the punishment of Nature. She would not be outraged with impunity. That terrible routine of incessant daily toil by which the cruel mandate of grinding poverty, urges so many thousands to a premature grave, was by Lord Wentworth voluntarily sought. And with precisely the same result—evil alike to body and mind. 1634.

Invariably, in all accounts of his life, this persistent overwork of his natural powers, this overstraining of the nerves, this utter disregard of their anguished cry for a little daily peace, this resolute disobedience of all the laws of his being, are given as something to be greatly admired, something worthy to be imitated.

No greater delusion ever existed than this. For it is hardly possible to overrate the effects of such a con-

1634. tinual strife with the body on the actions of the sufferer.

Sir George Radcliffe said of Wentworth most truly that he was a man and not a god. And the old Greeks did but body forth a profound though now neglected truth when they represented the tremendous effects of physical pain on the mightiest and noblest of their heroes. In youth, Wentworth had left nothing undone to subdue his naturally impatient temper and, so long as he led an even, well-proportioned life, with perfect success.

But now that was at an end. The repressed cry of agony that rose to his lips at the Council table, burst forth later in fits of uncontrollable passion. The patience needed to sustain cheerfulness was all exhausted in the constant minuteness of endless cares to be entrusted to none but himself and replaced by that ceaseless anxiety that can endure no dismissal. His brain working in unrelieved thought and calculation refused repose, and long sleepless nights followed by the same overladen days that had produced them wrote their chronicles in his prematurely lined brow and fading hair.

Many of Lord Wentworth's acts seem so unaccountable in their cruelty as well as in their absolute folly and inconsistency, that it is impossible, when we find what was his real bodily condition at the time, not to relieve him in some degree of their guilt by ascribing them to the state of his health. And we shall note that the deed which of all others has fixed the darkest stigma on his life began in a shriek of torture that even he could not subdue.

The longer we live, the greater the progress that is

made in science, the more weighty will be judged the responsibilities of the body, the more clearly will be recognised how vast is her dominion over the mind, how immense her influence over the actions of men. Many a stern judgment will be reversed, and pity and regret take the place of severity and harshness. 1634.

Often in the midst of long letters of many folio pages indited by the hand of Lord Wentworth himself, sometimes long after midnight, we come across such sentences as he now wrote to the English Secretary :

"In good faith, I am so over-toiled, that I find this continual labour work somewhat on my health, so as I shall be enforced to give myself some small ease, which I trust will be admitted, so as it be not with too much neglect of my duty, which, God willing, shall not be."

To Lord Cottington he writes :

"By my troth, my lord, in good earnest, I grow extremely old, and full of grey hairs, since I came into this kingdom, and should wax exceeding melancholy were it not for two little girls that come now and then to play by me." *

To the Lord Treasurer :

"If your lordship could but see the perpetual toil I labour with, I persuade myself you would not grudge me some small forbearance. Indeed, my body begins much to sink under me ; my mind looking fast towards more ease than I can promise myself in this employment."

Again to Lord Cottington :

"Infirmities every winter grow upon me (and by the

* These were "Mrs. Ann" and her sister Arabella.

1634. way, I have been troubled with an humour, which in a strict acceptation you might term the gout, so as I am hardly able to point the ground with one of my feet).

To Archbishop Laud :

"I come thus late to answer your lordship's by reason I have been so troubled with headache and a dimness in my sight, as moved me to take a little more time than I otherwise should have done."

To his brother Sir George Wentworth :

"You will perceive by the duplicate of my letter that I have not been well of late which occasioneth me to be very short this time."

To Secretary Coke :

"I purposed by this messenger to have given you a full and clear account in divers particulars, upon which it will be necessary for me to have special directions from his Majesty, and you on that side. But I find myself so much weakened, having swooned twice last night, as I shall desire sparing unto the next week."

Then, at the end of the letter of a full folio page, he adds :

"I find myself, at this present, more spent by dictating than formerly I should have been by writing myself."

To the King :

"I have not been hitherto in possibility with my own hand to answer your Majesty's letter, by reason of my indisposition. No sooner am I able to sit up, but I must crave your gracious pardon."

To Secretary Coke :

"I have had a very uncertain health for these ten days past, and now, in the conclusion, it terminates in

a fit of the gout, which keeping me still in bed, partly with pain and partly with weariness, makes me unfit for much business, and must plead my pardon these arrive so late.” 1634.

(The above is followed by a state letter of nearly *eight folio* pages, all written in bed and by his own hand.)

To the Earl of Newcastle :

“ An indisposition hath hindered me from writing a line almost this fortnight—in plain terms, my good lord, a formal fit of the gout.” After a letter of a folio and a half, he concludes :

“ I am become, with writing this little, wearisome to myself, for I have not gone over thus much paper with my pen these sixteen days.”

To the Earl of Danby :

“ You will give me leave to use the pen of my secretary, not being well able as yet to sit up the writing a letter myself.”

To Mr. George Butler :

“ You will pardon my scribbling, for since the gout took me, I am not able to write, but with both my legs along a stool, believe me, which is not only wearisome in itself, but a posture very untoward for guiding my pen aright. But as Sir Walter Raleigh said very well, so the Heart lie right, it skills not much for all the rest.”

This terrible chronicle is not the report to different persons of the same illness, as will easily be seen by a little trouble in comparing the notes. It is the record, precisely in the order above given, of a little more than six consecutive months, and affords an accurately general view of the usual condition of Lord Went-

1634. worth's health. His maladies were not of that light, elegant, agreeable kind—that, unfortunately, have been the means of the incredulity that too often takes the place of sympathy towards the real sufferers of life. He was not one of those, by no means uncommon invalids who can eat, drink, dress elaborately, and enjoy every pleasure, while the sole signs of their malady are an inability for labour of any kind, mental or bodily, and a paralysis of feeling for others of the race of the afflicted. On the contrary, his diseases were among the most terrible and torturing of those which, for inscrutable purposes, Heaven has ordained amongst the sharpest trials of shrinking humanity.

Outwardly, they were visible in the contracted brow, the quivering lip, the faded cheek, and misty eye. His form, naturally tall and well-proportioned, was often bowed like that of a man more than double his age. To the most agonizing of internal diseases were added fits of gout and neuralgic affections of the teeth; and head-ache and intermittent fever followed in the train. Often, he fainted from exhaustion after a paroxysm of pain, and it was nothing uncommon for him to be obliged to be carried to bed from sheer inability to walk under the attacks of giddiness that caused him to reel and totter in the attempt. For days and weeks together, he was unable to leave his bed, or to sit in his chair without the props of stools and pillows.

It was under the dominion of such visitations as these that he performed those daily gigantic labours which would appear marvellous even in a state of uninterrupted health. As it was, even with his mighty powers of will and endurance, he must have yielded,

but for the wealth which enabled him to procure all the alleviations and aids obtainable by such means. And more, much more, than all the help of money, were the cares and sympathies of his wife and friends—especially the first, who was ever near to soothe and render those thousand nameless offices of thought and kindness which a gentle and affectionate heart alone knows how to bestow. 1634.

At the houses of his friends, when he paid his rare visits, the health of Lord Wentworth was always the first consideration, and deeply he felt and expressed his sense of their thoughtfulness. In the short and few intervals of ease that he enjoyed, his spirits rose almost to the height of joy, and many a pleasant letter despatched to his acquaintances and friends, showed that Nature had seemed to intend him for cheerfulness and exhibit him as altogether another being from the moody, tyrannical, bitter statesman.

In one of these rare days of brightness, he wrote to Lord Exeter, who was arranging to come and cheer him up after a fit of illness :

“You are still pleased to heighten your favours towards me, and let me see the obligation I have unto your lordship, as well in sickness as in health, and should you neglect yourself for me, and thereby receive any impairment by your too much friendly hearkening after me, on my conscience, I should never love myself more.

“Therefore, I beseech your lordship, be not so venturesome on my occasion, till this churlish season of the year be past, and the spring well come on. There is old age in years as well as in bodies. January and February are the hoar hairs of the year, and the more

1634; quickly, the more within doors we keep them, we, with the year, grow the sooner young again in the spring.

"I am happy to live in the noble memory of my lady. It is her ladyship's great goodness to have it so, else this bent and ill-favoured brow of mine, was never prosperous in the favour of ladies. Yet did they know how perfectly I do honour and how much I value that excellent and gracious sex, I am persuaded I should become a favourite amongst them. Tush! my lord, tush! there are few of them know how gentle a garçon I am.

"My lord, seriously I wish you both the continuance of that great comfort you have enjoyed so long together, to the infinite satisfaction of all that honour and love you, and to the vexation of such as wish you ill, if there be any such; and so with this New Year, I can wish neither of you anything of new, but that you may tread still round the ancient and beaten paths of that happiness you mutually communicate, the one with the other. Let it then ever be so."

Such letters as this, accompanied, as they invariably were, by every act of kindness and hospitality in his power, at once explain the strong feelings of affection inspired by Lord Wentworth in those he really loved and considered his friends. In politics he could play a double part, and without scruple deceive a man when he had a diplomatic end in view. But there, such man was always indifferent to him in reality. No instance remains on record of his practising deception on a friend. Implacable in his hate, the same intensity of feeling characterised him in love, in the highest and most unselfish of all love, that called friendship. True, indeed, his lack of conscience blinded him to its highest

powers and duties, but that was not a matter of design or will. Whether to the miserable being he called his master, or to the humbler secretary, who gave him a life-long service, let the sacred sentiment really inspire him and his desires to fulfil it seemed to know no limit. 1634.

“He never failed where he did profess friendship.”^a That these words, written long after his death by one who had known him intimately during the whole of his life, express no more than literal truth, ample evidence remains to show. The privileged ones were few, unhappily none of them were great—not one to be compared with himself in intellect or influence. Chief above them was Charles, the idol before whom he sacrificed all that was good, upon whose altar were consumed patriotism, truth, honour, health, happiness, and life. Next were Sir Christopher Wandesforde, the Master of the Rolls, and Privy Councillor in Ireland, and Sir George Radcliffe, his secretary, and also a Privy Councillor. These two, after the King, were the nearest to his heart, and, unlike the King, they returned his affection with the deepest devotion. They seem to have existed but for him alone, to have had no opinion independently of his wishes, whose lawfulness they never questioned.

Strangely and inexplicably, after these, came William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Commencing at the Council table, this acquaintance slowly developed into friendship, and having reached the point of real regard, never afterwards changed. Laud appears to have felt more affection for Lord Wentworth than for all the rest of the human race put together. He admired him

* Radcliffe's Essay.

1634. — intensely, confided to him all things, defended and supported him in absence against all enemies. Wentworth was equally open to Laud. Unable to fulfil all his wishes with regard to the Church in Ireland, he strove to please him whenever it was possible, writing long letters to him in the midst of pain and care, and always rendering him the deepest reverence as head of the Church. Greenwood has already been named. More might be given, but the above are the principal of the life-long friends of Wentworth. Others, with whom he was in constant correspondence, on state affairs especially, regarded him with a doubtful feeling, which was not unknown to the object. Of these were Weston, the Lord Treasurer of England, one of his first acquaintances at the Council there, and who has had the credit of being the first to attract him to the King, Lord Mountnorris, Vice Treasurer of Ireland, the Earl of Ely, and others. Some of these remained objects of coldness or dislike, others became marks of a strange hatred which no attempt was made to conceal.

Deep reflection is called forth by a study of the friendships and domestic affections of Lord Wentworth and his associates, and painful are the lessons and warnings they give us against forming wholesale judgments of men according to their most attractive or repulsive qualities. The advocates of Charles I. delight to give, as a proof of his goodness and virtue, the pretty pictures of his fondness for his children and his wife. In family affection he was as much excelled by Lord Wentworth, as a feeble mind can be by a strong one in the same thing. Never did any human mother more passionately adore her children than Lord Went-

worth his—never was there a kinder or more beloved husband than he. But was this any virtue demanding praise and sacrifice at the hands of others? Surely not. It was a feeling possessed in common with the most timid and the most ferocious animals alike. No praise to those that have it, while to those therein deficient—

“They want the natural touch ; for the poor wren,
The most diminutive of birds, will fight,
Her young ones in the nest, against the owl.”

And in friendship, too, the King excepted, we recognise the warm and kindly feelings these men manifested towards each other, in word and deed. So pleasant were their mutual impressions and intercourse, that those who witnessed it must needs be charmed, and look on such susceptibilities as absolutely incompatible with hardness or cruelty.

Alas! against such theories the stern facts lift up their voices in loud contradiction, and tell us that it is not our own feelings but our regard for the feelings of others, that must form the standard of judgment.

What mattered the love of Wentworth for his children, unless it taught him what other men must feel when torn from their families, and impressed him with the cruelty and guilt of breaking that sacred bond in other homes, if not absolutely compelled by a breach of law threatening the general good?

What mattered his earnest love for a few of his fellow men, when he was able to sneer at the sufferings of one of the noblest, purest friendships that ever existed, that of Sir John Eliot and John Hampden, if it did not lead him to bid the King open the prison door of Eliot, or count on his services no longer? No.

1634. so long as we can stand coldly by, and unmoved see others robbed of what we deem most precious ourselves, while, whether by acts of tyranny, by words of slander, by cowardly or malicious silence when slanders are uttered, or by hard neglect and indifference, we quietly allow the poison to be poured over those feelings in other hearts, that we boast of in our own, our friendship, our domestic harmony, our careful conformity to all that can benefit ourselves, are but other forms of selfishness covered by the robe of the priest and the Levite.

Painful and ungracious as is the task, nevertheless, in the interests of truth it is necessary to give yet further examples of this most solemn lesson, as taught by the subject of the present biography.

Side by side with letters breathing the very spirit of kindness, came to him others recounting the most fearful acts of ferocity and wrong—such acts as we might think must make the blood boil in every heart not callous to all the impulses of humanity. Yet there is no trace of their arousing the faintest spark of indignation in Lord Wentworth—no record of his uttering a single word in behalf of the victims.

One of his most regular correspondents was the Rev. Mr. Garrard, a clergyman, and apparently a *protégé* of his own. Mr. Garrard hung about the Court, and mingled sufficiently among the aristocracy to find ample opportunities of prying into family transactions in all directions. Of these opportunities he took every advantage, and at short intervals forwarded to Lord Wentworth a regular chronicle of all the petty gossip of the day. Were it not for the word “Reverend” prefixed to his name, it would be very difficult to believe that the long epistles comprising

every subject, with the almost complete exception of religion, could have been written by a clergyman. 1634.
From these letters I propose to give a few extracts, in reading which it must be borne in mind that every man who dared to differ in opinion from the King or Archbishop Laud was, in the eyes of Mr. Garrard, a criminal for whom no epithet was too strong. Dec. 6, 1633. He thus commences the first of his letters to the Lord Deputy of Ireland :—

“ May it please your Lordship.

“ As soon as I began to settle in London, which constantly I have done almost twenty years, about All-hallentide, I made queries after your Lordship, and was beholden to my worthy friend and old acquaintance, Sir John Borlase, who went with you, and then lately came from you, who spoke most honourably of your Lordship, and then told of your well being. His discourse joyed me not a little, for, since I had the honour first to know your Lordship, your great abilities to serve God, your King, and country, made me love and truly affect you, which, although I never told you until now in this letter, yet long since they made a deep impression in me. And I shall be ready to do your Lordship the best service in my power, either this way of writing, or any other way that you shall command. Proem longer I'll use not, but fall roundly to relate things done here.”

In remarking that we have here a man whose express profession is that of spreading religion, addressing another whom he eulogises for his virtues, we must not fail to note that the very unconsciousness of both correspondents of anything shameful in the deed about

1634. to be related is in itself evidence of their low standard of right.

Mr. Garrard then writes, after first detailing the anger of the King with one of the nobles who refused to marry a woman selected for him by his Majesty:—

“One Bowyer, a lying, shameless fellow, was brought *ore tenue* into the Star Chamber for abusing the Archbishop of Canterbury with horrible falsities, no truth, nor shadow of truth in them ; his fine, £3000, and to stand in the pillory in three places, Reading the last place, where he published them first, and there to lose his ears, and so return to perpetual imprisonment in Bridewell.”*

What these slanders were are not mentioned. To call the Archbishop a cruel man, or a bigot, would have been accounted a slander. But granted they were all that Mr. Garrard stated, what a punishment ! And what a spirit in the Primate, who, in one of his letters, boasts that the word “pastor” is due to bishops alone as the only shepherds of the flock, the representatives of Him who said “Blessed are the merciful.” One word of Wentworth to Laud might have saved the poor culprit from the dreadful mutilation, at least ; to utter that word seems never to have entered the head of any of the three. In the same letter, a little farther on, we find:—

“One Father Arthur, an Irish priest, who came over at the end of summer from Lisbon in Portugal, was arraigned at the end of the term for treasonable words against our King at the King’s Bench Bar ; which words were, directly upon oath, proved against him, though he denied them. So he was adjudged to be

* Rev. George Garrard to the Lord Deputy, i., 165.

hanged, drawn, and quartered. At his death, he denied them also. But who doth believe him?" 1634.

The case of Prynne is well known. Disgusted with the immodesty of the stage, the extravagance of the Court, which spent large sums of money extorted from the people by means of Privy Seals and other unlawful acts, in Court masks and plays which were acted by the Queen and her ladies and gentlemen, he wrote a book in which, in no measured language, he denounced the stage. Being a stern Puritan, living an austere life in obedience to the commands of the Old Testament, he, according to the custom of his sect, did not scruple to use the strongest of the denunciations of the ancient prophets against what he believed to be evil. That the royal family perpetrated vanities and dissipations was no reason why he should be silent, he considered, any more than Nathan or Elijah. In addition to this, he viewed the practices of Laud with indignation as an attempt to bring back Popery into England, and went so far as to compare the chanting of the service to the "bleating of brute beasts." That his language was of the most passionate kind must be admitted. Nevertheless, it was no stronger than has invariably been used by all orthodox sects against those who differed from them—not stronger than was used by his opponents against himself. He had broken no law, and his book had been regularly licensed. He himself was a man of the most spotless purity of life. He was dragged before the Star Chamber by William Noy, the Attorney General,* and by a court composed principally of those pleasant and intimate friends of Lord Wentworth, Secretary Coke, Lord Cottington, the Earl

* Rushworth, 8vo, vol. ii., 183.

1634. of Dorset, Archbishop Laud, &c., and what was his sentence we learn from the following extract of one of the Rev. Mr. Garrard's letters to Lord Wentworth:—

"February 27, 1634. Mr. Prynne's cause in the Star Chamber held the Lords three days, and the day of censure they rose not until three in the afternoon. He is fined five thousand pound, adjudged perpetual imprisonment, to lose his ears, the one in the Palace Yard, the other in Cheapside, and his books to be burnt by the hands of the hangman.

"His books were so valued by the Puritanical party, that a sister lately dying in London, bequeathed a legacy to buy books for Sion College, and in her will, desired that Mr. Prynne's works, in the first place, might be bought for that use." *

Not content with this infamous sentence, the Court, in turns, levelled the most abusive speeches at Prynne, certainly surrendering all right to speak of railing as a crime.

Lord Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, told him that "he was surely assisted by the devil, or rather that he assisted the devil."

The Earl of Dorset, Chamberlain to the Queen, called Prynne "Prophet Prynne" and "Achan," and his book "Damnation." "He was a schism maker, a sedition sower, a wolf in sheep's clothing," &c. Lord Dorset, after exhausting a vocabulary of foul words on Prynne, mingled with the grossest flattery of the Queen, said he should fine him £10,000, which was more than he was worth and less than he deserved. He would no more set him at liberty than a plagued man, or a mad dog, and therefore condemned him to

* Letter of Mr. Garrard to the Lord Deputy, i., 207.

perpetual imprisonment as those monsters that are no longer fit to live amongst men or to see the light. For corporal punishment, he questioned whether he should burn him in the forehead, or slit him in the nose, for Dr. Leighton's offence was less than Mr. Prynne's, and why should Mr. Prynne have a less punishment?"*

1634.

Mr. Garrard forgot to add that while standing in the pillory, Prynne was to wear a paper on his head, declaring his book an infamous libel. Also, that the printer who, in addition to the sin of printing, had called it "an excellent book," was fined £500 and set in the pillory with a similar paper. At first, St. Paul's Churchyard was named as the place of punishment, but Laud, whose piety was shocked, called out "that was a consecrated place."

"I cry your Grace mercy," said Lord Cottington, "then let it be Cheapside."

Secretary Coke was much the mildest, but he fully concurred in the judgment.

* Leighton's case is well known. His offence was precisely that of Prynne, and, like Prynne, he was a man of great learning and irreproachable life. He was tried in 1630, before the Star Chamber, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life in the Fleet, to be fined £10,000, to be placed in the pillory at Westminster, there to be whipped, one of his ears to be cut off, one side of his nose to be slit, to be branded on the cheek with the letters S. S. for Sower of Sedition. This was the half of his sentence only. Before his wounds were healed, the other half was to be performed in like manner on the other side of his face. This abominable decree was executed to the letter, and Dr. Leighton was left with Prynne and others in prison till the outbreak of the civil war, when he was released by the Long Parliament. He was found in his cell, deaf, blind, and paralysed! These were the practices from which it needed a civil war to rescue the nation. Laud coolly set down the mutilations of Leighton in his diary in the order they were inflicted in the same tone that he noted the mere day of the month—and without one word of pity or regret. See Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 47, and "Laud's Diary."

1634.

June 3rd, 1634, Mr. Gerrard writes to Wentworth:

"No mercy showed to Prynne. He stood in the pillory and lost his first ear in a pillory at the palace at Westminster in full term; his other in Cheapside, where, while he stood, his volumes were burnt under his nose, which had almost suffocated him."

"June 20, 1634. Mr. Prynne, prisoner in the Tower, who hath got his ears sewed on that they grow again as before to his head, is relapsed into new errors. He writ a very scandalous letter to my Lord of Canterbury, abusing him very much, and others of the lords his judges.* The Archbishop sent it to Mr. Noy, who sent for him, taking first a true copy of his letter witnessed; then showed him his own copy which, after he had read, he tore into many pieces. He was for this brought to the Lords, whence order is given to make him close prisoner, and to bar him of pen and ink, and further order to Mr. Attorney to put in a new bill against him."

"March 16, 1636. One Dr. Bastwick, a physician (who writes an excellent Latin style, formerly censured in the High Commission), Burton, and Prynne, for their libellous books lately printed, are all called into the Star Chamber. Burton's parishioners in London sent a petition to the King, underwritten by sixty with their names, to entreat for his pardon and liberty. Two of them were brought in, who were committed for their pains."

"July 24, 1637. Some few days after the end of the term, in the Palace Yard, two pillories were erected, and there the sentence of Star Chamber against Burton,

* The Puritans deemed it base and cowardly to be silent when wrong deeds or words were perpetrated, and fiercely scorned all peace bought by concession to injustice. Their protests against guilt were called "abuse."

Bastwick, and Prynn was executed. They stood two hours in the pillory, Burton by himself, being degraded in the High Commission Court three days before. The place was full of people who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropt. Dr. Bastwick was very merry. His wife, Dr. Poe's daughter, got a stool, kissed him; his ears being cut off, she called for them and put them in a clean handkerchief and carried them away with her. Bastwick told the people, the Lords had Collar days at Court, but this was his collar day, rejoicing very much in it. Since,—warrants are sent from the Lords to the sheriffs of the several counties where they are to be imprisoned, to receive them and see them placed. Also, Dr. Leighton, censured seven years since and now prisoner in the Fleet, is removed to some remote prison of the kingdom.” 1634.

The disgusting and infamous chronicle might easily be expanded. Enough has been given for the purpose intended. The callous indifference with which these horrors were regarded by all the Ministers of State, by the bishops and archbishops of the Church of England, by his most sacred Majesty himself, is nobly contrasted by the outcries of horror of the more civilized people. Had the government not been stultified as well as brutalised, it must have read its certain downfall in those cries. From the hour that the people prove themselves more enlightened, more humane than their rulers, revolution—successful revolution—is a matter of a very short time.

Chief of the English persecutors and mutilators was Laud. Overpowered with admiration at the entire and rapid success of Lord Wentworth in enforcing his will in Ireland, the greatest ambition of Laud was to carry

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out the same system—the system of “Thorough” in England. Why it should not be accomplished Laud could not see. He did his best to imitate Wentworth, and, in fact, he seemed to have still greater power, seeing that while the King entirely supported him in all civil matters as well as ecclesiastical, his own position as head of the Church carried a weight, which Lord Wentworth had not. He did not recognise the enormous difference between the English and the Irish race, the unbroken training in slavery the latter had had under the priests, whose yoke had so long been thrown off by the English. He could not appreciate the effect of such minds as those of the great Puritan leaders on the people, nor the utter deficiency of superior men at this time in Ireland. More than all, he was blind to the immense gulf that yawned between his little mind and the large and comprehensive views of his friend. From the son of a clothier he had risen to be primate of all England—what better proof of transcendent genius could be given than that? There was nothing extraordinary in Lord Wentworth becoming Deputy of Ireland—nothing that was not consistent with his birth and position. In fact, much as Laud admired his abilities and tried to imitate him, he thought even Wentworth too slow, and wrote him word to that effect, when the latter told him the material Church must be reformed before the spiritual. Laud’s resolution was that England, Scotland, and Ireland should all be of one creed, attending one Church, conforming to a set of ceremonies so near to those of Rome, that a spectator uninitiated in either would find it difficult to distinguish between the two. He pro-

* The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Deputy, i., 212.

tested, indeed, a great horror, at times, of the Catholics, but so rare were their penalties compared with those of the Puritans, that they had little weight against the assertion of his own tendencies in the direction of the Pope. 1634.

Had he been permitted, there can be little doubt that Laud would have rivalled the abominations of Alva and Philip II. in his treatment of the Puritans.

He kept a record in his diary of the cruelties exercised on Prynne, gloating over them as over some luscious banquet. But the penalty was not enough—he would have gagged the victims. The following extract of one of his letters to Lord Wentworth will show that we have not spoken too harshly :—

“I have received the copy of the sentence against Paterson, and am verily of your Lordship’s mind, that a little more quickness in the government would cure this itch of libelling, and something that is amiss besides. But you know what I have written, and truly I have done with expecting of *Thorough* on this side, and therefore shall betake myself to that which you say, and I believe is the next best. And yet I would not give over, neither. As for Challoner, it was the weakest part that ever Mr. Secretary Coke did, to leave him in the hands of a messenger, and not commit him to a very safe prison.

“But what can you think of *Thorough*, when there shall be such slips in business of consequence. But what say you to it, that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the city, and that

1634. when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way, to take their leave, and God knows what else?"*

Wentworth had no love of religious persecution himself. He saw the folly of it, and none of the abominable pillory scenes disgraced his government in Ireland. But as to disturbing his agreeable intercourse with Laud, or implying a censure on the King by one word of protest against these Star Chamber proceedings—that was not to be thought of. On the contrary, he did his best to increase the exasperation of Laud, by pointing out what, to him, was the real danger, which may be seen from Laud's reply:—

"Once again, you return to Prynne and his fellows, and observe most rightly that these men do but begin with the Church, that they might after have the freer access to the State. And I would to God other men were of your Lordship's opinion, or if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal for timely prevention. But for that we are all too secure, and will not believe there's any foul weather towards us till the storm break upon us. For in what sort these men were suffered in the pillory, and how they were attended out of the city, I have already written, and since, I hear Prynne was very much welcomed both at Coventry and West Chester, as he passed towards Carnarvon."†

As yet, Laud had been unable to obtain what he most eagerly longed for, the power of taking cases in common law into his own hands—as the Deputy had succeeded in Ireland. He frequently bewailed his ill success to Wentworth, who tried to cheer him up with

* Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Deputy, ii., 90.

† The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord-Deputy, ii., 99.

hopes of better days, and pointed out to him that the real root of power was in a revenue independent of the parliament. 1634.

The two following extracts from this precious correspondence lay bare more than any explanation their wishes and plans :—

Laud writes : “ I am very glad to read your Lordship so resolute. But you are withal upon so many *ifs*, that by their help you may preserve any man upon ice, be it never so slippery. As first, *if* the common lawyers may be contained within their ancient and sober bounds. *If* the word Thorough be not left out, (as I am certain it is) *if* we grow not faint, *if* we ourselves be not in fault, *if* it comes not to a *Peccatum ex te Israël* ; *if* others will do their parts as so many and such *ifs* as these ; what may not be done, and in a brave and noble way ?

“ But can you tell when these *ifs* will meet, or be brought together ? Howsoever, I am resolved to go on steadily in the way which you have formerly seen me go, so that (to put in one *if* too) *if* anything fail of my hearty desire for the King and the Church’s service, the fault shall not be mine.”*

To this Lord Wentworth replied :—

“ For the *ifs* your Lordship is pleased to impute unto me, you shall hereafter have more positive doctrine. I know no reason then but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England as I, poor beagle, do here. And yet that I do and will do in all that concerns my master’s service, upon the peril of my head. I am confident that the King, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able by his wisdom and

* The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Deputy, i., 155.

1634. ministers, to carry any just and honourable action through all imaginary opposition, for real there can be none. That to start aside for such panic fears, fantastic apparitions as a Prynne or an Eliot shall set up, were the merest folly in the world. *That the debts of the Crown taken off, you may govern as you please*, and most resolute I am that work may be done, without borrowing any help forth of the King's lodgings, and that is as downright a *Peccatum ex te Israël* as ever was, if all this be not effected with speed and ease."

In these words of Lord Wentworth may be found the whole key of their policy, "*to govern as you please.*" Not according to the laws of the land, as the King solemnly swore to do at his coronation, and on which condition he received the crown, on the breach of which condition, he justly forfeited it in the sight of God and man. "*To govern as you please,*" this was the doctrine upheld by Laud and Wentworth, in which they supported the King. From this, none of the three ever swerved, though to the credit of Laud and Wentworth, it must be acknowledged that from the time they adopted this policy, they boldly acknowledged it, while Charles constantly resorted to subterfuge, and while the prisons were eating the lives of patriots who had broken no law, he could talk of "protecting the liberties of the people."

Laud was troubled with the Puritans in England, Wentworth with the Roman Catholics in Ireland; but the methods of Wentworth differed greatly from those of Laud. It was the difference in opinion from himself that incensed Laud; it was the interference with his authority that aroused the anger of Wentworth. As is invariably the case, the penalty inflicted unjustly

was of a far heavier kind than the one really 1834. merited.

One of the first cases against the Catholics arose incidentally. Lord Wentworth was presiding over a private cause in the Castle Chamber, when one of the parties, who had been accused of being suborned, declared, in defence, that he had taken an oath before the priest, on the altar and sacrament, that what he had sworn was true, and his counsel also urged this as an irresistible argument.

But Wentworth, plainly seeing that if a priestly witness were allowed to have any greater weight than a common man, it would at once acknowledge a dangerous influence in the State, told the counsel and client sternly—

“That it was such an insolence as might not be endured, that any priest should interest himself extrajudicially in anything tending to the administration of his Majesty’s justice. That it was of a very dangerous consequence, that such oaths as these should be obtruded upon his Majesty’s Courts of Justice, which, should they be admitted, they would, through this course of proof, rule the decrees as they list, empty the King’s courts, or at least make them become their trumpets to sound forth betwixt party and party.” He then declared he would give no credit at all to oaths sworn before a priest, but would hold them extrajudicial, and command all the judges to refuse them likewise. Nor did he stop here, but, on the spot, ordered the Attorney-General to prefer an information against the priest that gave and the party that took the oath, and all who were concerned in it.

1634. Another significant and less justifiable act of power was perpetrated by the Lord Deputy.

A gentleman named Lofthouse had left an annuity of £81 a-year to "the Catholic Bishop of Limerick."

Lofthouse was Roman Catholic, and, according to Wentworth himself, naturally meant the *Roman* Catholic Bishop. "But," said the Deputy, "we hold *ours* the Catholic Bishop, and therefore have rectified the knowledge of the donor and applied it to the right Bishop indeed."

In the elections for the Parliament, the priests left nothing undone to influence the voters; the Jesuits and others calling the people to mass and threatening them with excommunication if they voted for a Protestant. They were, however, too numerous for Lord Wentworth to interpose at that time; he therefore, deferred his intended summonses till he should have power to enforce them, satisfying himself, for the present, with the punishment of a sheriff, who, incited by the priests, proved mutinous during the elections.

To hold the balance justly between the opposing Churches was almost an impossibility for the wisest of rulers at this time. Religious toleration was utterly unknown—was forced to be unknown when religious creeds were brought in opposition to the laws of the land. The ungovernable hatred that existed between the sincere Catholics and the sincere Protestants can only be compared to that of the Children of Israel and the idolaters against whom they believed it the holiest of duties to wage war. Moses, not Christ, was the law-giver. As nations in our own day who call themselves

Christians, and would repel, with resentful surprise 1634.
the least hint to the contrary, yet pride themselves on their bravery in battle, their skill in the daily multiplication of the most hideous weapons of war, their great military skill, sneer at men who will neither fight nor swear at all—so did the opposing sects, in those days, look on mercy to each other as an imbecility in a few, but a treacherous crime in the many. Among the heaviest charges brought against Lord Wentworth in Ireland was his mildness to the Catholics in not enforcing the twelvepence Sabbath fine, which the Protestants considered was the legal source for the maintenance of the army. By far the greater number of Protestants in Ireland, at this time, were Calvinists, and bitterly they regarded the “voluntary” contribution to which the Episcopalians had agreed, while the very laws were relaxed in favour of the Catholics. By far the best respected and most honest of the Irish clergy was Dr. William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore. He was, also, the most liberal towards the Catholics. But he shared the general feeling with regard to the contribution, and incurred the heavy displeasure of Laud and Wentworth, by signing a petition drawn up by the people of Cavan praying that the contribution might not become a custom. Laud wrote him a stern letter of rebuke for his opposition to the King’s service, and he, also, received an intimation of the high displeasure of the Lord Deputy. More fortunate than many, he escaped punishment by means of a manly letter, in which he explained the necessity of his soothing the people from whom he was appointed to draw the money for the army, declaring his firm conviction of the need of an army, and giving

1634. such proofs of his loyalty, that the Deputy expressed himself satisfied, and imparted his contentment to Laud.*

In another matter Laud proved less amenable.

One of the most important matters, in his eyes, was the position of the altar in a church. In Ireland, as in England, this had been greatly neglected, the altar being placed rather where it was most convenient than in any place specially sanctified. But to place it anywhere, except the east and close to the wall, was, in the eyes of the Archbishop, the direst sacrilege. Soon after the arrival of Lord Wentworth in Ireland, it was discovered that the cathedral altar stood in the midst of the nave, and that its proper place under the eastern window was occupied by a magnificent monument erected over the family vault of the Earl of Cork. Laud had been previously aware of this, but had no power to alter it till his own elevation to Canterbury, and that of his friend to the office of Deputy made the path of piety clear. He at once wrote to Wentworth, begging that the monument might be removed and the altar put in its place. Against this the Earl loudly remonstrated.† In his eyes, the sacrilege consisted in the insult offered to the remains of his ancestors and even of his wife, who was buried in the vault. Wentworth took the part of Laud, and a long and bitter controversy followed, which ended by Wentworth ordering the removal of the monument. He had not even the courtesy to erect it in another part of

* Letter of Bishop Bedell to the Lord Deputy, i., 146. Also "Life of Bedell," by T. W. Jones.

† See for a very interesting letter of Lord Cork, "State Papers, Ireland," M.S., 1634.

the church, but took it to pieces, and, packing the parts in a box, sent it like a common parcel to the Earl.* 1634.

That such acts as these, added to many necessary enforcements of unwelcome discipline, should render the Deputy unpopular with a large number of individuals, was unavoidable. He knew it; but where he had a personal dislike, or where he received provocation by what he justly or unjustly considered disrespect or disobedience, he was unable to control the manifestations of his anger, and many of his friends saw with regret that he made himself a number of personal enemies whose brooding revenge might bring to life dangers of which he was by far too disdainful. While he always showed gratitude to those who served him, and rendered his friendship valuable in all respects to men who sought it sincerely, yet he ruled principally by worldly means. Fear and splendour he regarded as the two chief ministers of power. Without these potent auxiliaries, vain, in his opinion, would be any attempt to control the multitude, from the poorest peasant up to the greatest noble in the land. With them, all things might be accomplished—*all things* with him, as with others, excluding, of course, much that never entered his mind.

Of human nature in general, he had a very poor opinion. He believed it to be governed entirely by selfish motives. He saw the herd of all ranks follow the direction of their own profit with the fidelity of the needle to the magnet. From that aim nothing could turn them. The strong, the prosperous, the wealthy,

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, I., 379.

1634. could count on their followers with certainty, no matter how poor might be their moral standard. The very preachers held up virtue, not as anything beautiful in itself or as the path by which men alone could fulfil the perfect law, whose perfection was the proof of its Divine origin, but as a high price for a rather sensual and certainly material heaven hereafter. Men were to be good for what they could get. Payment might be deferred to a future life,—still, it was payment that they were told to secure. Beside the motive of gain, was the dread of loss or suffering. The same zeal and sheep-like fidelity to self, that followed the prosperous, were manifested in the desertion of the weak, the suffering, the poor, and the unsuccessful. No matter how noble the aims, how generous and brave the actions of a man, if they were not crowned with worldly profit, he had to stand alone. Unpopular innocence was friendless indeed.

Thus, there is no reason to doubt the word of the poor Catholic priest we have named, who was so cruelly executed on the charge, denied with his last breath, of speaking against the King. He seems to have been as much an object of sympathy as Prynne and Bastwick. But while the latter were rightly cheered by pity and esteem, and money was thrown to their wives for their support, not a voice seems to have been heard in behalf of the poor priest. The Puritan victims had rich friends ; he, equally guiltless, had none, and so his cause went for nought.

Wentworth, therefore, contemptuously treated human nature as he saw it. It could only be won by what it valued, and as it valued none but base things, base things he set before it. Titles and show it specially

adored. Titles and show he must consequently have 1634.
in order to secure its obedience.

It was, therefore, not from any weak vanity, but as an engine of ever-growing authority, that he now petitioned the King to grant him an earldom.* He said that it was simply for the consideration of his Majesty's service that he desired it. Things were already in a very prosperous path in Ireland; nothing would be so likely to improve them as the credit vouchsafed by his Majesty to his representative. Much as had been in this short time accomplished, greater things remained to be done—greater than he had even as yet suggested. His labours were far above those of his predecessors, and it would be well for his ultimate accomplishment of them that his outward dignities should keep pace with his responsibilities. He begged the King to grant this request before the next session of Parliament, and also to conceal that the honour had been desired, but to let it come as spontaneously from his Majesty, to give proof to the world of his approval of the government of his Deputy.

Certainly, if any man merited worldly reward for faithfully fulfilling his master's wishes, for working incessantly to increase his power to the utmost, for identifying every thought with his interest, Wentworth was the man. His reasons, too, were well worthy of acceptance. In all lands and ages the cunning few have discovered the enormous power that lies enwrapped in gorgeous dress, in sculptured palaces fitted with all the aids to luxury, in forms and ceremonies, which act as mystic symbols on imaginative minds, and bear witness to wealth to more vulgar clay.

* The Lord Deputy to the King, i., 301.

1634. Lord Wentworth always rated the influence of sound and show at an enormous value—even beyond what it really possessed—as a tool of government. For if he was hardly able to exaggerate its real weight with common minds, he, on the other hand, scarcely allowed enough for the possibility of any event preventing his ability to maintain it, and the certain desertion, in such case, of all who were attracted by it alone. And, too, he took his view from so haughty a distance, that he failed to recognize among the multitude in England the extraordinary number of exceptions to the vulgar standard at this time. Never, perhaps, before or since, existed so many souls who rose above materialism, who watched it with jealous eye, and resolved that while they lived, at least, their country should not be wholly given to idolatry. But in Ireland the Roman Catholic rites and dresses had all the more marked effect on the people from the contrast to their own squalor. And Wentworth keenly noted that owing to the carelessness, poverty, and shabbiness of his predecessors, this means of influence had become the monopoly of the priests. And this he deemed it of the first importance to stop.

That the King should not heartily agree with him on such a point never entered his mind. No man was more punctilious in exacting the minutest points of etiquette than Charles ; no man laid greater stress on the privileges of rank than he. As President of the North, Wentworth had been raised to the rank of Viscount. As now personating the King in an entire kingdom, it might have been expected that his titles would have been amplified from the beginning of his present office. It was strange, and must have seemed

a mere oversight that he was left to apply for what should have been conferred without request. The King's honour was involved in the honour of the Viceroy. So certain did Wentworth feel of all this, that he drew up a letter, stating the title he wished to take, and sent it sealed to the Secretary, in order that he might at once open it, and draw out the patent on receiving it from the King. 1634.

What was his astonishment and mortification may be better imagined than expressed, when, after more than a month's suspense, he received a cold note from Charles, which, after first discussing a question relating to tallow, declined granting his request. He commended him for not having named his wish to any living creature, acknowledged his merits, but gave no reason for not rewarding them.

It must have been a bitter blow to Wentworth's pride, a deep wound to his affection, a test indeed to his loyalty and fervour. The utter disregard shown to his feelings, the baseness unknown or abhorrent to a noble and delicate mind, that can, by word or deed, do anything to lower the dignity of a friend in the eyes of others, and of which Wentworth himself was utterly incapable, must have told terribly on the passionate heart that was bound by so strange a spell to a graceless master. In the very letter of refusal Charles was not ashamed to tell Wentworth of his satisfaction in being relieved of the odium of refusing the promised "graces,"—odium which, instead, fell on the Deputy and Council.

Did not his invincible pride, his undaunted courage, his lavish generosity, and his own ample patrimonial rank and wealth, together with the whole course of

1634. his life, utterly forbid it, such total submission to the King, such willingness to bear the blame of the King's faults, while he himself reaped no reward, might have rendered it hard to avoid branding Wentworth with meanness and servility, as indeed his enemies have not often failed to do. But others, the highest minded and severest of his judges, have drawn the delicate dividing-line that separates the homage of a mistaken affection from the ignominy of a willing degradation encountered for selfish ends, and attributed to the first the constancy that left unshaken the fidelity of Lord Wentworth to the King, making it a virtue in itself, even while giving birth to evil. The only parallel to the case of Wentworth and Charles is that of Wolsey and Henry, the chief difference being in the greater devotion of Wentworth, and the proportionate ingratitude of Charles. Had Wentworth, indeed, but have served his God as he served his King—had he tried with half the zeal to discover how best to become a servant of the Most High, a minister to do His pleasure unto the weak and suffering of earth, no nobler soul would ever have sojourned among us. In silence he received the ungracious dismissal of his request, and wearily turned to his thankless labours.

Much yet remained to be done before the meeting of the next session. No task was too insignificant for him. At this time, he received a request from the little Duke of York (afterwards James the Second) to procure for him an Irish greyhound. Lord Wentworth at once promised him the finest the island could furnish, but told him he must wait till it was tame enough to be safe ; and as soon as it had learned to play with the

little Wentworths, and thereby proved its docility, it should be sent to England.* 1634.

Perhaps, the innocence of the task awoke the memory of the long-passed days of his own childhood, and made him look back mournfully to those halcyon hours that were to return no more. For, at this very time, we find him expressing a yearning for his English country home.

"You mention my garden at Woodhouse," he writes to Sir Edward Stanhope; "and I thank you for the visit. As prosperous as you conceive His Majesty's affairs go here, and indeed, unprosperous, I praise God, they have not been hitherto, yet, could I possess myself with more satisfaction and repose under that roof, than with all the preferment and power a crown can communicate of her grace and favour.

"My mind works fast towards a quiet, and to be discharged of the care and importunity of affairs, which, God knows, force me, against my will, from many of those more excellent duties I owe His goodness and blessings. Nor can I judge any men so entirely and innocently happy as those that have no necessity of business upon them, but such as they may take or leave as they please without being accountable for any neglect or success to others."

With touching humility, strangely opposed to his usual pride, he adds, "You still acknowledge much more to me than I deserve. But, believe it, you have not a friend that shall be more ready to serve you, which must make up a number of other defects that are in me—defects of fortune, defects of ability to serve you answerable to your merit. Well, be it so; yet

* The Lord-Deputy to the Countess of Dorset, i., 305.

1634. with all my faults, I have a very sound heart, where your memory lives in concert and harmony with truth and constancy." *

The Lord Deputy now deemed it advisable to shed a little sunshine on the people, and encourage the docile spirit they had manifested. He therefore ordered the judges, on their next circuits, to signify to the people how well satisfied His Majesty felt with their dutiful behaviour. And seeing that, as a matter of absolute necessity for their own protection, he had been compelled to call upon them for a voluntary contribution of £20,000 a-year for the support of an army, yet he trusted that by means of the subsidies they had granted, and which he was resolved to apply entirely to their own service, that he should, from henceforth, be able to relieve them of the contribution for the army, and he had now resolved that it should cease from December next.

He then pointed out the dire confusion and uncertainty relating to the titles of estates arising from so many wars, confiscations, and unconfirmed grants. To make all this clear, the King had issued a Commission of Grace for the confirmation of defective titles, all estates being settled by it under his royal assent. All profits arising from the commission were to be applied to the public charges of the kingdom. Here was slyly inserted a clause revoking the "grace" they had of all others been the most anxious about. "This is a much more general provision, and to such as do compound upon this commission a far better security in their own private fortunes and estates than the law they have in England, which concludes the

* The Lord Deputy to Sir Edward Stanhope, I., 303.

rights of the Crown upon threescore years' possession, and that yet, nevertheless, after this commission hath in a moderate and mild way taken such effect as is fit, they may, if they please, in due time, even have that law too they seem so much to desire." 1634.

But an intimation was given of the transfer of the smaller cases of common law to the hands of the Lord Deputy—a change which, though it invested him with a dangerous power, was yet likely to be in many cases a great relief to the poor, by saving them from the long law-suits that then, as now, so often rendered justice a dream to any but the rich.

Then the people were informed that all bishops and archbishops in the kingdom had been ordered to forbear all questioning any for clandestine marriages and christenings—which custom hitherto had been a constant cause of discord, on account of the fees thus evaded—and of which this act relieved the defaulters at the expense of the priests. A welcome announcement followed, to the effect that cattle, corn, and other articles named in the *graces* of 1628, were to be exported free.

A rather vague promise was next made that a choice of all the best laws of England enacted for the last century, which the English had bought by at least sixty subsidies, and which were not in force in Ireland, should now be introduced.

But what was more gracious than all, the people were between the present time and the opening of the next session of Parliament, to bethink themselves of anything they might conceive should tend to their good, and to make the same known to the Lord Deputy, who would be ready in all things to lend

1634. them all necessary furtherance, as far as was consistent with other considerations. The last clause of course implied, as far as was consistent with rendering the King the most absolute prince in Christendom, altogether independent of his Parliament, and amenable to no will but his own. Finally, the justices were to let the people know how acceptable had proved their submission and their subsidies, how graciously and bountifully his Majesty returned their cheerful affection, and to show how greatly the wise and dutiful carriage of the two Houses had won and wrought upon him for their advantage, inasmuch that they might with assurance and comfort betake themselves to their own private occasions, as they which rested and reposed in safety under the guard of so wise and mighty a King, and so indulgent a father of his people and dominions.

The sop thus administered, the next thing was to mix the bitter draught, whose taste was to be disguised, as far as might be, by the previous sweet potion.

With great care Lord Wentworth drew up a list of the old and longed-for graces, fifty-one in number, and against each, separately, he wrote his opinion as to the desirability of granting, refusing, or modifying it, and sent this important document for the King's private perusal. Such as the King approved were to be granted by his royal favour, such as he refused, he was supposed never to have seen, Lord Wentworth and the Irish Council assuming the responsibility of not transmitting them.

CHAPTER XIV.

ON the 4th of November the second session was opened. As was to be expected, the first anxious demand of the Commons was for confirmation of the graces. They had doubly and trebly fulfilled the conditions of the original bargain made in the time of Lord Falkland, and not the most experienced in human deception could well be prepared for further breach of promise. 1634.

But so it was. The Lord Deputy, without assigning any reason beyond the general statement that himself and Council were acting for the country's good, gave in writing his reply. In the preamble he stated that he had refused to transmit certain of these graces to the King, on the ground of their being in his judgment, and that of the Council, hurtful to the commonwealth, and not fit, for great and weighty reasons (which he did not explain), to be passed as laws.

He divided the graces into three kinds. 1st, Those not to be granted at all, and which he said he had not transmitted, nor intended to transmit, to the King. 2nd, Those he thought good he had sent, and were now conceded by his Majesty. 3rd, Those that were temporarily granted could at any time be recalled, and had no sanction as laws.

1634. And this was the result of the long voluntary contributions, the patience under the wicked breaches of royal faith, the grant of the largest and most numerous subsidies ever obtained from Ireland. The feelings of the Commons were not all suppressed. The Protestants, who formed the majority, by Lord Wentworth's management, in order that they might support him against the Catholics, now, in seeming indifference or despair, began regularly to absent themselves from the House in such numbers, that the Catholics, seizing the opportunity, were able to defeat some important bills. Lord Wentworth began to be alarmed, and to find that his first haughty boast to the King that "all the graces prejudicial to the Crown were laid so sound asleep that he was confident they could never be awakened more," was, to say the least, precipitate. To do him justice, his anxieties this time were not for the King alone.

"I was very much troubled," he says, "albeit the King had got his supply. I was wonderously unwilling any malevolent tongue should seemingly charge us that, having served the King, we now meanly became careless of that in honour and justice we owed to his people; extreme loth so many good laws should be lost, which might be of excellent use in the future reducement of this kingdom to civility (civilization) to a peaceable and due temper of government."

He then called the Lords and sternly told them "what a shame it was for the Protestant party, that were in number the greater, to suffer their religion to be insensibly supplanted, his Majesty, in some degree, disregarded, the good ordinances transmitted for their future peace and good government to be thus disdain-

fully trodden under foot by a company of wilful insolent people, envious both to their religion and their fears; and all this for want of a few days' diligent attendance upon the service of the public. 1634.

He then besought the members of the Council to reason with their personal friends among the delinquents, and persuade them to attend in their places punctually, if only for ten or twelve days, and matters would soon change for the better.

This remonstrance had the desired effect, and Lord Wentworth had the satisfaction of finding the absentees hasten to their duty. Had this not been the case, he was resolved to adjourn the House and write to England for instructions, rather than see his measures defeated one by one.

Bitterly he complained of the influence of the priests, whose great dread, he declared, was to see the Irish changed by new laws into followers of English customs, which, in time, might lead them to a conformity in religion also. "And, indeed," he added ominously :

"I see plainly that so long as this kingdom continues popish, they are not a people for the crown of England to be confident of. Whereas if they were not still distempered by the infusion of these friars and Jesuits, I am of belief they would be as good and loyal to their King as any other subjects."

Yet he hastened to reassure himself with the fact that he had been able to raise six subsidies without putting any force on the recusants.

In the report to the Secretary of State of these events, Lord Wentworth, carefully named every member of the Council who had shown any special

1634. zeal, nor was he oblivious of those who, either in the Council or the House, had been cold, or opposed his measures.

There is something altogether amusing in the school-boy earnestness with which he catalogues the sins and defects of those who are obnoxious to him. He is never content with merely naming the fault in question that obliges him to speak. Thus, in relating that Sir Piers Crosby, who had been removed as an injudicious member from the Council board, was seeking to return, and requested permission to wait on the King to petition for that purpose, he is not content with advising against Crosby's return for the reason of his dismissal, but, after stating "the time he watched to disserve and disregard the State was passing malevolent and spiteful, the opinion he patronised against all common reason and the rules of a civil government," Lord Wentworth must add: "There is not anything in the man but formality, and that ever set the mutinous way, arising from an overweening in himself, that he merits more than a State can do for him. He is in estate very low, and a heart wholly Irish; full of vanity; ambitious to be held a man on whom the Irishry, forsooth, depend, so as he vaunted lately to have in Kerry four hundred swords which would strike where he bid them without asking a question."

A more pleasant feature is the way in which the writer speaks of his friends. When he comes to Radcliffe and Wandesforde he makes a remark well worth noting:—

"For the other two, they are my intimate friends; and yet I have ever judged it a degree of pusillanimity not to speak those truths for them that are near us, nay,

for ourselves, which, upon the same ground, we should do in the case of a stranger." 1634.

After the return of the Protestant members to their daily work, all went on in the House to Lord Wentworth's satisfaction. During the recess at Christmas, he sent over a number of laws for the approval and return of the English Council, and, stating the next session would commence on the 26th of January and last till Easter, he desired to know whether he should then dissolve or merely prorogue the Parliament. He strongly advised prorogation only. Among his reasons, one was that prorogation kept it in harmless life, which, if need be, might be blown out in a moment; but which, meanwhile, was well composed of a majority of Protestants, who were clearly with the King, and such as would be difficult to call together again. They formed a good rod to hold over the Catholics, who were opposed to all reformation, and who would be the more scared when they saw that, by means of this faithful majority, the King could pass upon them all the English laws on religion. He did not advise so sweeping a measure, but it was good to have the power of passing it, and might be used as a tool in other matters, especially in a new plan, now waiting for forming new plantations in Connaught and Ormond—a plan of which the Protestants were greatly in favour, as likely to bring over many safe English, but which the priests naturally dreaded, as subversive of their power and influence.

As usual, Lord Wentworth's nominal holidays were occupied, among other matters, in private services to his friends. This short interval was interrupted by the discovery of a stolen love affair, in which one of

1634. his *protégés*, the son of Mr. Secretary Windebanke, played the hero.

Wentworth, whom nothing escaped, noticed the frequent absence of this young gentleman from his court, and placing a watch, soon discovered that he was paying his addresses to a young Irish lady, the daughter of Sir Beverly Newcomen. The young couple looked forward to a secret marriage, hiding their romance even from Sir Beverly. The reason was too plain. The unhappy maiden had no money ; and in those days "a portion" in England was as needful as "a *dot*" in France. Lord Wentworth was assured by the lover that he had written to his father for his consent, but he was responsible for the youth, and did not believe he would be allowed to wed a dowerless girl. With his usual decision, he at once placed the poor swain on board a vessel about to start for England, and despatched him to the care of his father, with the merciful remark :

"Such things as these will now and then befall young people ; but the best is, they are easily diverted by the authority of their friends, and no doubt your son, being of a very good nature, however he fell into this indiscretion, will be quickly let to understand his error ; and so shall commit him and it to your tender and favourable consideration, being ready to conform myself to any course you shall be pleased to prescribe me.

"Most welcome he shall be to me, if you shall so judge meet. But I must tell you, I should be fearful of their coming together again."

Poor Miss Newcomen seems quite out of the pale of sympathy ; and as she is no more mentioned, we may conclude that her romance was ended.

A more important piece of news reached him. A 1634.
bag of French letters was accidentally dropped by the post in the London streets, and carried to Secretary Coke, who opened it, and found the contents so important that he at once sent them to the Lord Deputy, who found his anxieties thereby no means lessened about Ireland. Among many similar papers was a parcel of letters from an Irish friar in Paris to various Roman Catholics in Ireland for money, for the support of monasteries in France for the reception of Irish recusants. Numbers of Irishmen, it was thus discovered, were drawn from Ireland and enticed into the French and Spanish armies, there to serve, if needed, against the English Protestants. A large nunnery had been erected in Paris for Irish ladies of quality, who were expected to pay the then enormous sum of four hundred pounds as the price of membership, and a less amount if they performed menial services, such as those of laundresses; and priests and Jesuits were travelling in France to erect similar retreats in the provinces. Letters from the Pope and the Pope's nephew, Barbarini, addressed secretly to all the Catholics of Great Britain, were also found; a new Catholic bishop was to be established in England, and the whole machinery was worked to political uses. Not the least impressive part of Father Messingham's despatches was one inculcating the secret murder of a poor monk named Harris, who probably had dared to prefer his country to the Pope.*

This discovery, which showed how widely extended was the danger of that foreign insidious corruption, which, under the name of religion, has proved the

* Letter of Secretary Coke to the Lord Deputy, i., 362.

1634. curse and cause of disloyalty to every government by turns in Christendom, would, with a wise king, certainly have confirmed Lord Wentworth's view of the policy of retaining a Parliament so liberal, docile, and composed of the much-needed majority of Protestants. But Charles had a hatred of Parliaments amounting almost to disease. The great object of his life was to rule without them, and no good thing could he admit to be connected with them. He answered the Lord Deputy's request for prorogation with a refusal, the reason of which may claim as high a rank in logic and good sense, as in elegance of expression.

"My reasons," says this eloquent monarch, "are grounded upon my experience of them here (in England). They are of the nature of cats; they ever grow curst with age. So that if ye will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any age, for young ones are ever most tractable. And, in earnest, you will find that nothing can more conduce to the beginning of a new, than the well ending of the former Parliament; wherefore, now that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith." *

Little did the monarch dream that the sagacity that led him so complacently to pen these sentences was leading him by slow and certain steps to the Long Parliament itself.

Lord Wentworth, aware of the uselessness of striving against the inveterate hatred of the King in this matter, was forced to arrange for the dissolution instead of the prorogation at Easter, and crowd as much work as possible into the remainder of the session.

* Letter of the King to the Lord Deputy, i., 365.

Many and needful were the bills passed in these few months. Some were of incalculable importance and benefit to the nation, while from all, the King reaped every possible pecuniary advantage. Many despotic measures, charged as they were with a most dangerous precedent, were nevertheless of great benefit to individuals, especially of the poorer classes, who by being, for instance, able to carry their causes directly to the Lord Deputy himself, were spared the miserable weariness, so often ending in ruin and defeat, consequent on the process of the common law when antagonists were guilty, wealthy, and able, as in the present day, by means of technicalities and unscrupulous lawyers, to render justice to the weak too often a mockery of the name. 1634

Indeed, it is to be questioned whether a better ruler, in the person of a despot, than Lord Wentworth could be found. Unhappily, the weakness and the passions of human nature render despotism and invariable justice impossible. In Divine Perfection alone are they to be united. Lord Wentworth's advantages as a governor lay in his incapability of accepting a bribe, in his clear and comprehensive mind, able to survey the whole of a subject, while it, at the same time, took in the minutest details, in his unwearied industry, his most marvellous knowledge of every matter in which he engaged, from an act of state, a code of laws, to the petty attributes of a trade or a profession. But, on the other hand, his lack of principle, his ungovernable passions of hatred, his arrogance and contempt of the feelings of those he despised, his unyielding disposition, which, while humbling another to the dust, could never bend itself—all served to poison

1634. and render even his benefits ungrateful. The influence over the minds of men which is obtained by a belief in the love and benevolence of a ruler was never his, and bitterly at times did this come home to him; never, alas! with sufficient force to induce him by holy and legitimate means to seek it.

One instance—one only—is recorded of an exception. To one man alone, besides the King, did he lower his pride and allow himself to be won by opposition. On account of its being the one solitary instance of his yielding, it is worth recording.

In opening the first session of Parliament, Lord Wentworth, knowing how often the furious and fiery nature of the Irish led them to terminate their arguments by an appeal to the sword—instances of which manner of decision, also, were not unknown in England, if we may believe Sir Philip Warwick—forbade the wearing of swords in the Houses of Parliament. Obedience to this order had been previously found difficult to obtain by other Deputies; and therefore, to ensure it, the usher of the black rod was placed at the door of the House of Lords to receive the swords of the peers before entering.

All yielded till the young Earl of Ormond gave a blunt refusal. The usher then showed him the copy of the proclamation of the Lord Deputy, but received for answer that, if the usher had Ormond's sword, it would be in his body. The official not caring to serve as a scabbard to the weapon of the fiery young peer, allowed him to pass armed as before, and Ormond sat, that day, the only member of the House with a sword by his side in the presence of the Lord Deputy. Lord Wentworth was highly incensed and after the sitting was over,

instantly summoned Ormond before the Council to answer for his insolence. 1634.

But Ormond, fully acknowledging that he had seen the proclamation, declared that he had only refused compliance out of obedience to a higher command, and, on the spot, produced the King's writ, which summoned him as an earl to attend the parliament "girded with his sword." For once, Wentworth was silenced by his own style of argument. He had been ignorant of the rule and custom which required an earl to appear on state occasions with a sword as a badge of his rank, and these forms had been so neglected in Ireland, that none of the other peers seem to have been better informed. Suppressing his mortification, therefore, he dismissed Ormond without censure, and sent for the trusty Radcliffe and Wandesforde to consult with, as to what steps should be taken to save his offended dignity. Should he magnanimously admit his mistake and make a friend of Ormond, or persist in punishment and gain a bitter enemy for life? For once, milder councils prevailed. Sir George Radcliffe was well acquainted with the Ormond family and their great influence in Ireland, and he gave it as his opinion, that here was a good opportunity to supply a great need of the Lord Deputy—that of powerful friends in the country he ruled. He pointed out the high birth, estate, capacity, and daring of Ormond, who, in addition, possessed other most valuable qualities, such as to render his alliance eminently desirable. Above all, he was a loyal servant of the Crown, and likely to uphold Wentworth in his political measures.

Ormond readily accepted the advances of the Lord Deputy, and, from that time, they became firm friends.

1634. The inauspicious beginning of their acquaintance left no ill memory behind it. Wentworth advanced Ormond, at once, to the rank of a Privy Councillor, recommended him strongly to the King, and Ormond, in return, supported the measures of Wentworth on all occasions.*

Among the most important works of this Parliament was the Statute of Wills and Uses.

By the common law of Ireland, lands and tenements were not devisable by will ; so that no one could legally, in that manner, provide for his younger children by charging his real estate when his personal was not sufficient for the purpose. Neither could lands be conveyed from one to another, unless by solemn *livery and seisin*, matter of record, or writings. But various ways were found to elude the law. Thus a man could let his property for a thousand years to a person where he could not leave it by will as a possession. These ways, too, were often employed to save the expenses incurred by a ward in Chancery, and thus the King lost a large income by missing the fees. Like all illegal acts, however, employed against injustice in the beginning, they were used to serve it in the end.

By means of these leases, a woman could be defeated of her dower or jointure, an orphan of his heritage ; in short, the confusion, like that of the disputed titles to estates, had become hopeless. One of the most dangerous consequences, too, in a land so constantly in rebellion, was the means of escape offered from the penalty of High Treason. Nothing was more common than for a man, before entering on a conspiracy, to let his lands for a safe period.

The remedy provided by the new bill was that all

* Carte's Life of Ormond, i., 132.

persons possessed of lands should, under all circumstances, be considered as in actual possession, and liable to all responsibilities attendant. No conveyance of land should be valid unless in writing indented, sealed, and enrolled in one of the King's Courts at Dublin, or in the county where the estate lay, before the proper officers. This reform, carried out in long detail, was particularly obnoxious to the priests, in the matter of the wards in Chancery. Formerly, by keeping them out of Chancery, they were retained in the Catholic faith. But now, every ward of the King was educated as a Protestant, and this threatened a large defection from the priests, who had greatly encouraged the education in foreign seminaries of orphans of wealth and birth.

1634.

Many minor and curious laws were also passed, such as those forbidding the plucking of wool off live sheep, barking trees, burning corn in the straw which would have served for fodder for cattle in winter, destroying hedges and fences, illustrating the improvident nature of the Irish in those days.* Others were passed for building bridges, repairing highways, encouraging fishing on the sea-coast, limiting actions and avoiding suits for estates after certain years of undisturbed possession, reducing of interest to 10 per cent., punishing vagabonds and sturdy beggars, suppressing cosherers and idle wanderers, who lived and preyed on the industrious poor, and consisted for the most part of the scum of the country. Beneficent acts were also passed for naturalising industrious Scotch settlers, taking off all distinction of treatment between the Irish and other subjects—a most needful act, as the old Irish

* Journal of the Irish Parliament.

1634. laws often allowed an Irishman to compound in money for a crime involving capital punishment to another man; and, on the other hand, refused the same protection to an Irishman that was granted to a foreigner. Lord Wentworth not only sent surveyors in all directions, but travelled about himself in order to learn what improvements were needed, what abuses must be put down.* It was in these social and civilising reforms that he shone pre-eminent, and in these was, perhaps, one of the greatest and wisest rulers that ever existed—certainly that ever existed in Ireland.

One of the boldest of all his plans was projected in the month of January of this year. This was the establishment of a Mint in Ireland. The scarcity of coin in the kingdom was a great drawback to commerce, for in this, as in everything else, instead of exchanging advantages with England, the good of Ireland was transferred to foreign and Catholic countries, who reaped such profits on their secret efforts to foment the mournful discord between the sister kingdoms.

“It is certain,” said Lord Wentworth, “very little of the foreign coin brought into this kingdom ever comes into the Tower of London to be minted, but is transported back into France, much into the Low Countries, and much back into Spain itself. And considering that it is most evident that the exportation of this kingdom exceeds the importation at least two hundred thousand pounds a year, it doth necessarily follow that great quantities of coin is brought in to balance the trade yearly, which, if the Mint was once settled amongst them, would in a great part be coined here, and be so considerable a profit to the

* Carte's Life of Ormond, i., 158.

Crown, besides an excellent means to increase the trade of the kingdom, which is now all lost and hindered exceedingly for want of it." He proposed that the Mint should be carried on on the same principles and pay the same duties to the Crown as that in England. All the expenses of coining, as smelting-houses, &c., were to be borne by Ireland. All the fees were to be according to the English scale, as well those of the government as of the Corporation of the Goldsmiths to try and stamp the metal. 1634.

He anticipated great opposition from the officers of the English Mint, who would be losers in fees, though he declared the loss would be slight. "But," he adds, in true Wentworth style, "be it as it will, those officers are not, nor is there any cause they should be, made such darlings, as to abstain from a public good to the King and his people for any private interest of theirs, were it far greater than I take this to be."*

The King was then formally applied to to grant permission to establish a Mint in Dublin on the conditions above named.

Wentworth's previsions were realised with regard to the jealousy of the English officers, who made the most violent opposition. But their efforts failed before the prospect of new profits to the Crown; and the King, on the 11th of March, sent a most gracious consent as a reward for the loyalty and good affection of the Irish Parliament.†

And, if ever a Parliament merited acknowledgment and reward for subserviency to a king, it was this Irish Parliament of 1634-5. Lord Wentworth

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to Mr. Secretary Coke, i., 366.

† Letter of the King to the Lord Deputy, March 11, 1635.

1634. had excellent intelligence to send in return for the grant of the Mint.

The time had arrived to settle in what manner the subsidies were to be raised. The committee had sat for some time without being able to arrive at an agreement as to the best manner of taxing the people for the amount. The first plan thought of was to appoint commissioners to go round the counties. Then came the difficulty,—should they be appointed in Dublin and sent into the country, or should each county furnish its own commissioners? On hearing the amount calculated in either case, Lord Wentworth conceived a stroke of subtlety greater than that of obtaining the subsidies themselves. If the rates were levied by county commissioners, he found each subsidy would amount to £30,000. If he appointed extraordinary commissioners, he thought they could raise each subsidy to £35,000. But yet another chance remained of farther increase. Fear had proved a most successful weapon in his hands in Ireland. He had generally found it possible to obtain his desires by leaving a margin for still larger ones, and indirectly bringing before the minds of the Irish officers of State the possibility of his obtaining the last. They always, in terrified haste, chose the lesser evil; never dreamed of escaping both. And thus, in the present instance, Lord Wentworth pointed out the great discontent that was likely to be aroused by the fixed levies of commissioners, as the rate-payers were sure to object to a lack of distinction between the rich and poor. He therefore proposed to take the matter in a different way. This was to appoint special commissioners for each county, of which two in each were councillors.

Unto these two he gave special instructions to appoint assessors, and gave them a charge to examine these assessors strictly, and, if need were, on oath of the uttermost value of every man's lands and goods within their several limits ; and then, after such presentment given in, in writing, to consult it again with the committee appointed to manage the raising of the subsidies, before they proceeded to a final rating thereof. 1634.

This proposal was at once put into effect in the County of Kildare by Sir Christopher Wandesforde and Sir Charles Coote, who perfectly understood the policy of Lord Wentworth, and, to use his own words, " was so well executed " by these trusty friends and servants, " as it wrought the effect he secretly desired, and indeed had in his eye all the way."

The consequences that he had so cunningly foreseen and purposely provoked, at once ensued. " A mighty fright " broke out lest the whole amount of every man's income being known, all should be rated according to the uttermost value of their estates—a contingency by no means taken into consideration when the subsidies were voted. Some plan must be formed to avoid this, some limit must be placed to the King's rapacity. A bold protest, such as that made by the English Parliament, seemed to be out of the question. A secret consultation, supposed to be unknown to the Lord Deputy, was therefore held, and the only means to avoid the threatened sweep was agreed to be to name a fixed sum of so large an amount as to tempt the King to an agreement, and render it not worth his while to take the matter into his own hands, and then rate each county proportionately.

1634. This was exactly what Lord Wentworth desired. By this he should obtain the largest amount, and that on the responsibility of the committee, who would thus relieve him of the odium and unpopularity of fixing and enforcing the rates. He therefore professed to be amiably agreeable to make a concession to this desire, professing himself quite satisfied so long as the King was fairly dealt with in the matter. The result was even beyond his hopes. "Hastened by their fears," they came to that at the first word, which Lord Wentworth confessed to his confidant he should have been glad might have been wrought at last by the utmost labour. This was to undertake, by means of commissioners of their own, to make every subsidy amount to forty thousand pounds sterling on the Commons, leaving the nobility and the clergy to be rated by the State. This proposal was brought to the Lord Deputy in the Council Chamber by a committee of the House of Commons, and the Lord Deputy, secretly triumphing over the perfect success of his scheme, was tempted by this success to go farther still. He told the committee how graciously his Majesty was inclined to ease the people as much as might be, and how far he preferred their good affections before their money. He was therefore right well assured that forty thousand pounds with their good likings would be more pleasing unto him than twice as much which might have been raised another way. He would, therefore, venture to accept their offer for the first four subsidies; but for the last two, as there was to be only one paid a year, he should expect they would make both of them up to forty-five thousand pounds each. But they must remember that his great moderation in being con-

tent with so little as forty-five thousand pounds for the two last, would depend on the full amount promised for the first four being completely paid "in neat money," without any defalcation upon certificates of persons severally charged in divers counties, and over and above the allowance of sixpence per pound set down by the statute for taking and collecting the same. 1635.

On hearing this, the committee retired; and, the next day, the House of Commons, "with all alacrity and cheerfulness," assented to the whole of the Lord Deputy's demand. And, lest worse things should befall them, they at once named the commissioners, rated the taxes for each county, and placed the whole on paper without delay, to be sent to the King; thus settling this delicate matter, so as to leave themselves "contented," and the Lord Deputy and his Council free from responsibility and blame at the hands of the country.

In the midst of his most natural satisfaction and delight at accomplishing such a stroke of business, Lord Wentworth did not forget the weaker portion of the humanity that would have to contribute to it. "That I might be the more sure," he writes, "that all things shall be carried indifferently, and that the burthen may lie upon the wealthier sort, which God knows hath not been the fashion of Ireland, I have told them that I will join four commissioners with theirs in every county, with these only instructions (the sum being thus set by themselves), to see that all things be carried to his Majesty's justice and princely regard of his people." *

* These subsidies were raised by a rate of four shillings in the pound upon lands, and two shillings and eight pence out of every pound of goods and stock.—Carte's *Life of Ormond*, i., 126.

1635.

"Black Tom" was the popular name of Lord Wentworth among the unrefined classes of Ireland: * they were more indebted to him for many a kind and thoughtful act than they were aware of. It was on the wealthy and upper classes that his hand fell so heavily.

The burden being thus arranged for the Commons, the next was to settle that of the nobility and clergy, which was soon accomplished, and to the above-named sums were now added 6000*l.* for the contribution of the nobility and 3000*l.* for the clergy.

The great fear of the Lord Deputy was the terrible temptation that all this treasure would throw in the way of the King. True, he had publicly promised that it should be spent on Ireland alone, but what the promises of King Charles were worth was now pretty well known. The only hope of binding him in the present instance was to impress him with the future profits of present patience and the absolute need of amassing a capital. To aid him in this, Lord Wentworth implored the influence of all his friends of the Privy Council in England, and especially of Laud, on whom he most depended.

"I am an earnest suitor," he wrote, "to your lordship that you would still be a means to deliver our poor subsidies forth of the fingers of the *Lady Mora*. It is thought she may have a month's mind after she once understands they will be apiece 50,000*l.* sterling. The Deputy never more to the King propounded than 30,000*l.* sterling; so at least there is in this as much done as undertaken. But I am desired to beseech your grace not to take as yet any public notice hereof,

* In allusion to his swarthy complexion and hair.

for that I write not a word of all this at this time, 1635.
albeit most sure, only to his Majesty." *

He also took care to send a carefully-drawn-up list of the Crown debts in Ireland, with the advice of the Commons that "the six subsidies cheerfully and unanimously granted to his Majesty in this present Parliament might be able to supply the necessary charges of this kingdom (of Ireland), in the first place, and in the second place for to satisfy and discharge the debts and incumbrances aforesaid in manner aforesaid."

If, as has been supposed, by the "*Lady Mora*" was meant the Lord Treasurer, that fear was at an end, a very few days after the above sentence was written.

Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer of England, and supposed to have been the first man who tempted Lord Wentworth from the cause of the people, died on the 12th of March, 1635. For a long time, the acquaintance, that had never been friendship in reality, had become unacknowledged enmity. Third persons had insinuated into the mind of Weston the altogether unjust suspicion that Lord Wentworth was secretly trying to supplant him and obtain his office, while Wentworth was ever on the watch lest Weston should transfer to the English Treasury the funds that he was accumulating in Ireland. Laud acted in this matter as a kind of watch-dog for Wentworth, and thus strengthened the distrust of Weston, who attributed his zeal in Wentworth's behalf to another cause.

Yet so utterly was this suspicion without foundation,

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, i., 378.

1635. that, contrary to desiring the office, Lord Wentworth was in the utmost alarm lest it should be offered to him. All looked on him as Weston's successor; and, to wipe away all ideas of his being supposed to watch for the death of the Treasurer with a view to his office, Lord Wentworth descended to one of those painful falsehoods which seem as much a part of the policy of statesmen as of generals.

Mr. Garrard gave him notice of Weston's decaying health. On the 1st of March, 1635, he writes to Lord Wentworth :

"My Lord Treasurer is not well. His stomach is clean gone, eats little, and those gross broiled meats. Variety of drinks rather nourish him than the meat he taketh. He is much fallen away in his body. His legs much fail him; besides, he is always cold, looks pale, white, and wan. A great fire, though he sit long before it, warms him not. Such and so great are the wants here, that I conceive his mind is much perplexed with the importunities of men of all sorts."

On the 5th of March, four days later, James Howell writes to the Lord Deputy :

"My Lord Treasurer hath not enjoyed his health lately, being crazy and very weak in his stomach, and borne up by cordials."

On the 12th of March, the Earl of Dorset wrote to the Lord Deputy :

"Even now, my lord, I come from taking my last farewell of my Lord Treasurer, who, without a miracle, cannot survive many hours. He dies like a brave man and a good Christian, and God hath given him both time and grace to make a happy end in the world."

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On the same day, March the 12th, Mr. Garrard 1635.
writes again :

“ In my last letter, of the 1st of March, I told your lordship in one part thereof what an ill disposition of health the Lord Treasurer had got. Since, his infirmities have multiplied upon him, so that he has grown so weak, that he was fain to take his bed one or two days last week.

“ My Lord Cottington, communing and discoursing first with his physicians, like a good friend, resolved to tell him of the danger he was in, saying that his physicians were of opinion that he would die of this sickness, and so persuaded him to settle himself for another world. He gave him great thanks for dealing so plainly with him, and that day fell to making his peace with God. Monday morning, my Lord Cottington resorts to him again, bringing along with him Sir John Bankes. With much difficulty he brought him there to make his will, asking him questions from his wife to his youngest child, what he would bequeath them, and Sir John Bankes taking notes by with his pen, which done, he drew up his will, and signed and sealed it. He will not die so rich a man as was conceived, in land, which they say is not 6000*l.* a year, and charged with a debt of 30,000*l.*

“ That Monday, the King visited him, but stayed a very little while in the chamber ; he breathed then with so much pain and difficulty, and so loud, that the King could not endure it. Though not yet dead, yet they name Treasurers in the town.”

On the 17th of March, Mr. Garrard writes :

“ Friday morning, about three of the clock, the Lord Treasurer died ; and he said oyer-night to many of his

1635. friends that he should do so about that hour. He died in great pain, entering his bed not above one hour before his death, crying out vehemently, and most of that hour tumbling and rolling up and down. At last he fetched three great groans, and expired."

Mr. Garrard adds a curious piece of intelligence about the unfortunate sufferer, which was afterwards confirmed by several others.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury sent to him to visit him, and that he would come and do him the last office, to pray with him, give him the sacrament, and assist him now approaching to his end. He returned him many thanks by my Lord Cottington, whom he sent over to Lambeth to his Grace to desire him to forgive him if ever he had offended him, and spare his pains of coming to him. God be thanked, he was at peace in his conscience. It is whispered and believed that he died a Roman Catholic, and had all the ceremonies of that Church performed at his death. And none but such were present with him when he died."

On the same day, March the 17th, Lord Conway, writing to the Lord Deputy, says :—

"The Lord Treasurer is gone to give an account of his stewardship. He hath left many mourners for him, but the most are that he did live, and not that he did die. Sir Toby Mathew doth assure us he is in heaven ; and it is confirmed by my Lady Wingfield, for she says he received extreme unction."

Thus we have indisputable proof of the ease with which the progress of the Treasurer's illness was forwarded to Dublin Castle. A doubt might, indeed, be

allowed as to whether any accident withheld these letters from Lord Wentworth, were it not for a letter of his own to his brother George, dated the 25th of March, in which he says :—

“ If my Lord Treasurer be dead, and that you hear me by any nominated to succeed him, I pray you make answer : that upon some former rumours of the like, heretofore, you have heard me in private seriously profess it was the place in the whole world the most unfit for me, and that I desire it should be so understood by all that love me. For you are sure that I neither follow the service of the Crown with so indiscreet affections, or so far neglect the moderate care of my own contentment and subsistence as (being a person in my own opinion so incapable) to accept an employment so much to the disservice of my master, or my own ruin. And, therefore, entreat all my friends that speak of it, to silence it, as much as may be as a thing not to be entertained by me.”

At length, the long-awaited for intelligence arrived that Weston was dead. Immediately on the 26th of March Lord Wentworth wrote to Lord Cottington,—

“ I was never more surprised in my life than upon the reading of your last letter, not having had any notice of my Lord Treasurer’s least indisposition before.”

On the 9th of April, he writes to the Earl of Newcastle, after declaring it not improbable that by the Lord Treasurer’s death he was delivered of the greatest enemy he ever had, he says : “ Yet I protest I ever wished well to his person, and am heartily sorry for his death, which was signified unto me my by Lord

1635.

1635. — Cottington, before I heard anything of his sickness, and took me in a manner by surprise."

Lord Wentworth must certainly have had great trust in the discretion of those correspondents who had warned him of Weston's approaching death.

But it seems that he was at least sincere in his vehement disclaiming of all desire of the Treasurer's staff. He wrote with his usual earnestness to all his friends entreating them to contradict the report that it was to be given to him, or that he would accept it. Indeed, it is astonishing that so many should have so little comprehended him, after many years of acquaintance and correspondence, as to imagine that he would renounce a sphere so eminently suited to his abilities and dignity for the inferior position of Lord Treasurer. Nor, on the other hand, was it likely that, bad as was the judgment of the King, usually, in fitting his officers to their places, that he would be so blind as to remove Lord Wentworth from a government which he so ably wielded, and, above all, where he was producing such a revenue !

The wretched condition of the churches and schools in Ireland at his arrival has already been named. Laud was compelled to restrain his impatient desires for impossibilities, and wait till churches were restored and new ones built before the congregations could be insisted on. In this, he was far worse off than the Puritans. Their church consisted of any number, small or great, who were gathered together in the name of God, not of a building of certain form and position. Consequently, neither poverty nor persecution could hinder their services, which were as holy by a hill side, under the canopy of heaven, as in the

most gorgeous cathedral in Europe. At any time, 1635.
in any place, their ministers were ready to instruct, and if their humble flocks were unable to furnish the modest stipend they desired, in order that the pastor might be enabled to give his whole time to his charge, the preachers were not ashamed to follow the example of St. Paul, and with their own hands minister to their necessities. Very different was the condition of the Episcopal Church in Ireland. As its ministrations depended on buildings, instruments, altars, vessels, surplices, pulpits, and ceremonies, as Wentworth justly pointed out, till all these indispensables could be restored, religion must wait. He had found the cathedrals in many places destroyed, the parish churches generally unroofed, unrepaired, or in utter ruins. The parsonage-houses of the clergy were desolated, and their possessions alienated. Most of the tithes had been appropriated to monasteries and religious houses, and afterwards vested in the Crown, or sold to private persons, and made lay fees. In some dioceses, there was scarcely a living left that was not farmed out to the patron himself or some person for his use. Five pounds a year was a very common sum to receive; and the vicarages were in Connaught so miserably poor that few exceeded forty, and many not sixteen shillings a year. All else were in proportion. Fifty pounds a year was the income of many a bishopric, some rose no higher than five marks.*

Of course, the impossibility of existing on such stipends rendered them in most cases merely nominal. No man of learning could be found, none of principle to assume a position so false and useless; and those who

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, i., 137.

1635. were called the clergy, therefore, in such cases, were ignorant, loose, and irregular in their lives and conversation, negligent in their appearance, and literally a scandal to the profession. That they should maintain any real influence was impossible, and the only respectable Protestants of weight were the Puritans, who were chiefly Scotch.

To restore as much of the scattered and alienated revenue of the Church as possible, was one of the tasks of the Parliament; and an act was passed "confirming all grants made or to be made by the late King James, the present King, or any other persons, of any manors, lands, tithes, or profits for the erection or support of any college, school, lecture in divinity or other science, for the maintenance of any minister, or the building, re-edifying, or maintaining of any church, college, school, or hospital, or for any other pious and charitable use; obliging the bishops to be careful in executing and performing such trusts and uses, and subjecting them finally to the inspection of the Chancery and (what was a surer and more expeditious remedy) to the cognizance of the Lord Deputy and Privy Council at the council-board."

Many of the Irish landholders made enormous profits out of estates diverted from the Church and used as sources of income alone by their patrons; and in restoring these to their original purposes, Lord Wentworth provoked the most bitter enmity. This was the cause of one of his many feuds with the Earl of Cork. The earl had bought forty-two thousand acres of land of Sir Walter Raleigh, and, by his improvements and additions to it, had become the richest man in Ireland. But he had drawn in a large portion of the patrimony of

1635.

the Church and increased his wealth by the appropriation of the tithes of the livings which, owing to the state of the Church, were without incumbents. Lord Wentworth forced him to give up these tithes to the amount of 2000*l.* a-year. Another case was that of Lord Clanricarde, who was found to have engrossed as many parsonages and vicarages as he could mortgage for 4080*l.* a-year rent.

"In faith," cried Lord Wentworth, "have at him, now this Parliament is well passed, and all the rest of the ravens; if I spare a man amongst them, let no man ever spare me! Howbeit, I foresee that this is so universal a disease that I shall incur a number of men's displeasure of the best rank amongst them." *

On hearing of the 4080*l.* mortgage, the King, at once, sent word to Wentworth to make sure that his ground was good with such men and then spare none.

Thus authorized, he applied himself to build up the Church on the same foundation that he considered the only safe one for all other institutions, that of a good and secure revenue, independent of the favour of the nation. Laud obtained the King's repeated promise not to touch the subsidies granted by the Parliament, and Wentworth repaid the act of Laud by a promise from the King to give back to the Church the impropriations obtained by the Crown at the Reformation; and, in all cases of renewal of defective titles, he took care, before granting the new patents, to stipulate for the rights of the clergy. But, at the same time, while restoring so much wealth to the Church, he maintained

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, i., 298.

1635. the same haughty spirit towards her sinning sons as to the other needers of reform.

The surplice was no protection against the rebukes of the Lord Deputy; and he took as much care to guard the Church against the cupidity of her own officers as to preserve for their descendants their rightful inheritance. None were ever more indignant, at the practice of converting ecclesiastical property into a vulgar piece of ware in which to trade, than Lord Wentworth. For the purpose of preventing a renewal of alienations, he caused an act to be passed, "that all grants, leases, and incumbrances for a longer term than an incumbent was legally resident on his benefice, and all bonds, covenants, and other assurances for upholding the same indirectly by obligations of resignation or residence, should be utterly void to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

The effects of his vigour now began to be seen. The increase of revenue enabled him greatly to augment the incomes of many of the bishoprics as well as of the poorer clergy. Many seemed to be awakened to an interest in the establishment, and on their own estates to rebuild and repair the ruined and deserted churches.

But the point on which the King and Laud were most anxious was not the higher standard of morals and intellect among the clergy and people, but the perfect uniformity of creed. In fact, the greatest ambition and chief object of the life of Laud might be said to be that the three kingdoms should be one to the very letter of their profession of belief. The articles of the Church of England and the body of the canons of her church were ordered to be received in Ireland,

and a convocation for the purpose of considering them was then called. 1635.

And now occurred one of those extraordinary bursts of unreasoning and overbearing violence that had begun so often to break forth in the midst of Lord Wentworth's measures.

The Lower House of Convocation having appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the Church of England, sent for their adoption, presumed to examine them in the absence of their bishops. But unable to obey the commands of Laud to adopt them, at once, implicitly, they went through the book of canons, marking in the margin of the page, such as they assented to, with the letter A, and others, on which they were doubtful, with a D, for the word *Deliberandum*. In the fifth Article, too, of the Church of England they had introduced the Articles of Ireland, to be allowed and received under pain of excommunication. And thus they had drawn up their canons.

This natural and simple proceeding, which was not objected to by their superiors, reached the ears of Lord Wentworth, who at once sent for the clerk of the committee, who had acted as chairman, with orders to bring the book, thus marked, with him, together with the draft he had made. No sooner had Lord Wentworth arrived at the notes on the margin than he fell into one of his paroxysms of rage, telling the clerk (who was also the Dean of Limerick) that certainly not a Dean of Limerick, but Ananias had sat in the chair of that committee; that he was certain that Ananias had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam.*

* Alluding to the persecuted anabaptists exiled to Holland.

1635. "That he was ashamed and scandalised with it above measure." He then bade the astonished Dean leave the book and draft with him; and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to repeat not a word of what he had just heard, till he was sent for again.

He then sent word to Archbishop Usher, the Primate of Ireland, and to the Bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Rapho, and Derry, with Dean Lesley, the prolocutor, to meet him in the morning, together with the offending committee.

When the company arrived on the morrow, Lord Wentworth addressed the committee, before the bishops, in his haughtiest and most offensive style. He told them how unlike clergymen who owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in their committee! How unheard-of a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith without the knowledge or consent of State or Bishop! What a spirit of Brownism* and contradiction he observed in their "deliberandums!" as if, indeed, they purposed at once to take away all government and order forth of the Church, and leave every man to choose his own high place where liked him best!

But these heady and arrogant courses they must know he was not to endure; nor, if they were disposed to be frantic in this dead and cold season of the year, would he suffer them either to be mad in the Convocation or their pulpits.

He then, after this extraordinary address, ordered the Dean to make no report from the committee to the Parliament.

Next, he ordered Dean Lesley, the prolocutor, that

* Brownists—a sect of anabaptists.

in case any of the committee should propound any question herein, he was not to put it, but break up the sitting for that time, and at once come and inform him of it. 1635.

Thirdly, he ordered him to put no question at all touching the receiving or not of the Articles of the Church of Ireland.

Fourthly, he ordered him to put the question for allowing and receiving the Articles of England, about which he was, by name and in writing, to take the votes of the committee; but merely "content" or "not content." They were not to discuss the matter; for he would not endure that the Articles of the Church of England should be disputed.

And, finally, that there should be no question about the canon that was to be voted, he desired that the Primate would be pleased to frame it; and when he had read it, he would send a draft of it to the prolocutor to be propounded, enclosed in a letter of his own.*

He then broke up this agreeable meeting. Beaten down as were the spirits of the audience, such insolence could hardly be borne without a word, and some proposed to show resistance by a petition to the Lord Deputy for a free synod. But so terrified were all alike when it came to fix on the messenger, that none would venture on the office, and it was given up.

Archbishop Usher then drew up a form of the canon; but Wentworth, not approving it, replaced it by one of his own, as nearly as possible after the English canon, and sent it in turn for the perusal of the Archbishop. But he no more approved of Wentworth's

* Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, i., 343.

1635. efforts than Wentworth of his, and told him he feared a canon like that would never pass, though his own form might. Wentworth, however, who had his own reasons for distrusting Usher in the matter of High Church forms, persisted in his own draft, saying he was convinced that when brought before Parliament not six would vote against it. He would be content to be judged by that sequel, only, for order's sake, he begged the Archbishop to vote it first in the Upper House of Convocation, and then pass it to the Lower. At the same time, he enclosed it to Dean Lesley, with the promised letter whose style and purport may be easily imagined. The consequence was that the canon as drawn by Lord Wentworth was voted and carried by both Houses of Convocation.*

Notwithstanding his victory, the excitement over, even Lord Wentworth pondered over the effect of the report of this matter in England, and thought it worth while to take precaution against consequences. Few of his words or writings are more unpleasing than the sentence in which he comments on his action in his letter to Laud, of whose approbation, however, he might feel sure. He had acted, at last, precisely as Laud wished, but evidently, notwithstanding his bravado, somewhat against his own cooler judgment.

"I am not ignorant that my stirring herein will be strangely reported and censured on that side. And how I shall be able to sustain myself against your Prynnes, Pymms, and Bens, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, the Lord knows. Sure I am, I have gone herein with an upright

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, i., 343.

heart, to prevent a breach, seeming, at least, between the churches of England and Ireland. 1635.

“Yet in regard I have been *out of my sphere*, I beseech your lordship to take me so far into your case, as that you procure me a letter from his Majesty, either of allowance of what I have done, or for my absolution, if I have gone too far. And this latter, the rather for that my intentions were sound and upright, and that if it stand with your mind, the Articles of Ireland be by a canon enjoined here to be received, I will undertake they shall be more thankful unto you for them, upon their next, than they would have been this meeting of convocation.”

He soon received a letter announcing the complete approbation of the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury for his daring deed.

It is quite certain that Laud was one of his most faithful friends, altogether sincere in his professions and endeavouring to act in his affairs as he thought would please him best. It is well to remember this. A character so poor as Laud's, in most respects, needs the more that his claim to one great virtue, at least, should be appreciated and kept in sight.

Writing to Wentworth on one occasion, he says :—
“You have given me freedom, where I dissent in judgment. I will make use of it, and not deny you that which you so kindly challenge to yourself and give to me. And as long as you shall retain the obedience of a son, I will take upon me to be your ghostly father. If, therefore, from henceforward I take on me to command, lay down your sword for the time and do your duty.”*

* The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Deputy, i., 330.

1635.

And Wentworth, during one of his painful illnesses, speaking of the repose it gives him to have a friend in need, says to Laud, feelingly,—

“You have been pleased with so noble and indulgent respects to consider me since my coming into this kingdom, as hath given me just cause to be your servant the remainder of my life, and I rest most confident of your good word so often as there is occasion for it. And, certainly, as this belief is one of my greatest comforts and stays here where I am; so will I in all places verify, I trust, the good belief you are pleased to retain me in.”

Andrews, the Dean of Limerick and Clerk of the Convocation, was an object of supreme contempt to Lord Wentworth, and not without cause. He appears to have been very mercenary, and one of those active in the practice of simony that the Lord Deputy was striving to put down. Just after the events above related, Andrews was made Bishop of Fernes. It may seem, at first sight, rather curious that he should thus receive an increase of dignity so soon after giving such offence, but the probability is that the nomination was previously made, and we shall see that there were ludicrous reasons for an enemy not to deprive him of it. Andrews appears to have been more than commonly unblushing in his eagerness for worldly advancement. Before assuming his new honours, he let a lease of the Deanery of Limerick to the Bishop of Fernes, in the hope of retaining old advantages while entering upon new. But the late act of State forbidding such leases was soon put in practice by Lord Wentworth, and the lease to the value of 60*l.* a year was restored to the Deanery. An almost incredible

anecdote is related by the Deputy to Laud about Andrews. On his nomination to the bishopric, he preached a farewell sermon to his old hearers, and, unable to restrain his exultation at his brightening prospects, in his discourse he began to commend the improvement of the times, and fervently uttered the words—

“How long, how long have we heretofore expected preferment and missed of it; But now, God be praised, we have it.” *

Lord Wentworth, who was present, could with the utmost difficulty, repress his laughter, for it seems that poor Andrews was altogether the victim of a cruel delusion as to the value of his bishopric, which was so poor and so encumbered as to be more of a punishment than a reward.

“The Bishopric of Fernes, writes Wentworth, “is already so saddle-girt and so spur-galled, as if the devil himself were the rider, he could not make well worse of it than it is already. He (Andrews) is a good child and kisseth the rod, so you see it was not a connection ill bestowed upon him.”

The attempt of Andrews, in spite of the law, to obtain the lease of the deanery of Limerick, thus impoverishing his successor to enrich himself in his new bishopric, and this, notwithstanding the fear of the Lord Deputy, shows how universal was the practice. Lord Wentworth, though his reforms on a large scale showed signs of success, began to find it almost endless work to carry out restitution in detail by the usual process. He, therefore, had recourse to his frequent remedy of application to the King for a special letter

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, i., 380.

1635. of authority, empowering him to try single cases in the Church before himself and the Council. He had already, indeed, acted in several suits on this power, but he found himself insecure. Thus, he tried a case before the Council, between the Earl of Cork and a poor vicar, restoring to the latter two vicarages which had been held, as Wentworth declared, wrongfully for thirty years by the earl. But the rich holders of ecclesiastical property soon began to question Wentworth's right of trial here, and referred to the common law, where the juries generally decided in their favour.

"The usurpations," said Wentworth, "upon the Church have been a contagion so universally spread throughout the kingdom as hardly can a jury be got where a great (if not the greatest) number would not feel themselves interested in the question, such a desolation have these late wars brought upon God's portion. Nor is it to be recovered, unless a little violence and extraordinary means be used for the raising again, as there hath been for the pulling down of it."

The clergy of the humbler sort found in Lord Wentworth a more valuable friend and greater protector than they had ever had. Something like a prospect of comfort and respectability began to dawn upon them. The few sincere and industrious among them, who really desired to act up to their professions and civilise the people, hoped to make a lasting benefit of the present favourable opportunity. A petition was drawn up to the King, in which the value and usefulness of a rural clergy were pointed out. They lamented their miserable condition up to the arrival

of the Lord Deputy. They declared that, in the whole Christian world, the rural clergy had not been reduced into such extremity of contempt and beggary as those of Ireland, and pronounced the cause to be “the frequent appropriations, commendums, and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights, in times of confusion, having their churches ruined, their habitations left desolate, their tithes detained, their glebes concealed, and by inevitable consequence, an invincible necessity of a general non-residency imposed upon them; whereby the ordinary subject had been left wholly destitute of all possible means to learn true piety to God, loyalty to their prince, and civility towards one another.” 1635.

“By a rural clergy endowed with competency to serve God at his altar,” they believed that a complete reformation of the people might be effected. And they thought that if the alienated property were restored to the Church, the amount paid to the King, by lawful fees and taxes on the same, would amount to a far larger sum than his Majesty now gained by retaining such of the Church’s property as had been impropriated to the Crown.”*

This petition was accompanied by a list of the alienated lands and their value, and both were sent to the Lord Deputy, “to whom,” said the petitioners, “their judgments directed them to fly, as most potent to intercede for them, and their experience as to a most propitious patron and protector,” and begged him to use his influence in their behalf.

On the 12th of April, after using his utmost efforts in vain for a prorogation, he was compelled to close

* Petition of the Clergy of Ireland to the King, i. 382.

1635. the Parliament. His chagrin at this, however, was greatly mitigated by the contemplation of the vast accomplishments of the two sessions. He pronounced it to have been the happiest Parliament that Ireland had ever had, having done more for the King, more for the Church, and more for the peace and security of the subject than any ten that had gone before it. Nor, on the whole, despite the arbitrariness of many acts, could his assertion well be contradicted. Worse than matters were previous to his arrival they could not well have been. But though, as yet, the time had been too short for the cure of such deep-rooted evils as he found, they had been thoroughly shaken and new plants of order, of safety and industry, were beginning surely to grow and thrive. And when we remember that during the whole sitting of this Parliament, Lord Wentworth was enduring such miserable health as we have described, that many of his despatches were written during sleepless nights in bed, that many of his councils were held under tortures of gout, and that his mental energies were upheld amid the depressing languor of physical exhaustion, the more marvellous does the result appear, and, at the same time, the more accountable those painful bursts of passion that, without warning, startled many a luckless offender. Any who care to examine minutely the documents in existence, will find that his paroxysms of rage were always at a time when he was struggling with bodily pangs, though often he will find the pain without the passion.

“What’s done we partly may compute,
But know not what’s resisted.”

Lord Wentworth’s rule, notwithstanding his character

for severity, is remarkable for the few capital punishments that took place. He prided himself on having kept better order by his civil measures than his predecessors had done by force of arms. And as for the success of his chief object, he was able to say with truth : —“ Confident I am, his Majesty hath now made himself more absolute master of this kingdom by his wisdom, than any of his progenitors were able to do by their swords.” And for his own satisfaction, he said :—
“ There being good reason for his Majesty to be pleased, I can be well contented to give other men leave to censure as they list, fully delighted in myself in my obedience and faith to my master, which I shall lodge very near unto me and preserve inviolably against any calumny or foulness of tongues.” 1635.

To another friend he names the only drawback of any consequence—the opposition of the priests. He had obtained the King’s authority to forbid the most pernicious practice, that since the Reformation had obtained in Ireland, of sending the children of influential families to be educated in foreign seminaries, where every effort was successfully used to weaken or destroy their natural allegiance, and make them slaves of Rome. This was to be at an end, as well as another evil of tempting Irishmen to enlist in foreign armies among the enemies of England. Lord Wentworth says:—

“ I understand the Jesuits and friars are much incensed against me in my own particular, as fearing they may come to be remembered for all their practices this Parliament. Yet, undoubtedly, it is for the King’s service and public settlement of this State, the happiest Parliament that ever was in Ireland. This

1635. comfort I have to support me against the malice of this race of sturdy beggars, that, howbeit, they threaten me with a Felton or a Ravailac, yet my master is pleased graciously to accept of my endeavours, and to say publicly at Council Board, the Crown of England was never so well served on this side as since my coming to the government. And I trust in God so to demean myself as his Majesty shall not at all alter his good opinion towards me. And, then, welcome what God sends, I am not too good to die for him."

It is remarkable how constantly the thoughts of an untimely and unnatural death seems to have beset Lord Wentworth. The above allusion to Felton and Ravailac repeatedly occurs in his letters as well as his frequent expression "at the peril of my head," "at the risk of the scaffold," and similar phrases. He often received threatening anonymous letters, and with this foreboding and the knowledge of the frequency of assassination of those days, and the ease of obtaining absolution, it is almost to be wondered at that he was so reckless of giving personal offence and, without need, awakening the deadly hatred of so many powerful foes. After the dissolution of the Parliament, he opened the Royal Commission for the Inquiry into Defective Titles, from which he had every hope of making enormous acquisitions for the Crown. The great prize in view was no less than the whole province of Connaught. It had been forfeited to the Crown during one of the rebellions, but had since been re-granted to various owners whose titles were held to be very questionable. One of the graces had been especially sued for to preserve this under the promise

of the sixty years occupation, but the stake was too large, and the grace was one of those refused. ^{1635.}

The first portion to be examined was Roscommon. Before the Commission was opened, Lord Wentworth sent orders for a return of all the richest men. For this step he had two reasons ; one was to make them examples for good or evil in the ensuing inquisition, the other was in case of their proving defaulters or disobedient in any way, their estates would be able to furnish heavier fines to the King. This last reason always entered the calculations of the Lord Deputy, and wherever there was a risk of rebellion, he placed this contingency before the rich, also, the fear of losing their wealth would be more likely to make them submissive than the happy poor, who had nothing to tempt them to servility. Thus did he reason, and put to service some knowledge of human nature. The jury being returned and the Commissioners arrived, Lord Wentworth sent for six of the principal gentlemen and boldly told them the truth before the Commissioners, and begged them to repeat the intelligence to the rest of the county, that the object of the Commission was no less than to find for the King a clear and undoubted title to the whole province of Connaught, beginning first with Roscommon.

But, nevertheless, though it was a favour never before granted in such an inquisition, yet if any man asserted a title to any possessions in Connaught, it was His Majesty's gracious pleasure that his counsel should be fully and willingly heard in the defence of their respective rights. And if there was anything else they desired, Lord Wentworth said he was ready

* Letter to Secretary Coke, i., 443.

1635. to hear them, and return a fair and equal answer thereunto, as the King had strictly enjoined him, and to afford all His Majesty's good people all respect and freedom in the setting forth and defence of their several rights and claims.

This was so different from his usual style, so unlikely to follow his first terrible announcement, that the hearers were delighted, "marvellous much satisfied." It was true, as Lord Wentworth said, "a few good words please them more than you can imagine." A pity he did not use them oftener.

The next morning, they appeared with a petition, numerously signed, begging that the inquisition might be deferred, as they were altogether unprovided to state their causes.

To this he replied that if that was the case, it was altogether their own fault, as he had caused a *scire facias* to be issued forth of the Chancery full twenty days before, in order that every man might have full notice, and have no excuse for not being prepared. Indeed, in giving the warning, he had exceeded what had ever been done before in similar cases; he therefore begged them to excuse him, but under these circumstances, he could not think of deferring the question.

The commission was then read, the jury called and sworn, and the case stated by the King's counsel. After a reply from the opposite side, Lord Wentworth proceeded to charge the jury. He told them that the first motives that moved his Majesty to inquire into his undoubted title to this province, were his princely desires to render the inhabitants a civil and rich people, which could by no other means be so surely accom-

plished as by a plantation which he had resolved to undertake. But so far from his intending to take from them any of their possessions, he meant to bestow on them a portion of his own. It was his gracious resolution to question no man's patent that had been granted formerly upon good consideration, and was of itself valid in law. His Great Seal was his public pledge of faith, and should be kept sacred in all things. The King did not come to sue to them to find his rights: he had no need of their power for that; for without any argument of theirs, his rights were so plain that he could not in justice have been denied possession. The Court, in an ordinary way of exchequer, would have pronounced in his favour at the first word of the Attorney-General. But the King was desirous, in these public services, to take his people along with him, and therefore was graciously pleased they should have as well a part with him in the honour as in the profit of so glorious and excellent a work for the commonwealth. As for his own interests, the King was indifferent whether they found for him or not. His Majesty had directed the Lord Deputy to put no pressure in a case where the right was so palpable.

1635.

But Lord Wentworth, of his own accord, as one that must ever wish prosperity to their nation, desired them first to descend into their own consciences, and take them to counsel, and there he was convinced they would find the evidence of the Crown clear and conclusive.

Next, he warned them to beware how they showed any obstinacy against so manifest a truth, or how they let slip out of their hands the means to weave themselves into the royal thoughts and care of his Majesty

1635. through a cheerful and ready acknowledgment of his right, and a due and full submission thereunto. If they inclined to the truth, and to do what was best for themselves, they would find for the King. But if, on the other hand, they were passionately resolved to overleap all bounds to obtain their own will, and without any regard to their own good, to do what was most profitable to his Majesty, then he should advise them roughly and pertinaciously to deny the King's title altogether.

With this mixture of threats and cajolery, the Lord Deputy then left the jury to their meditations.

The usual result of such eloquence followed. The next day the jury found the King's title good without the least scruple or hesitation. Only, with this favourable verdict they gave in a written petition to the following effect:—

1. That their patents might be found *in hæc verba* in the office, at after, to stand or fall according as they should prove good or not in law.

2. That all abbey lands might be excepted as they had already come to the Crown by the act of dissolution, and so there still lodged, unless well conveyed to the subject since.

3. That all possessions of bishops, deans, parsons, &c., should be excepted.

These three requests were at once granted, Lord Wentworth adding, with a chuckle: "The two former his Majesty's justice would never deny them, if their patents be good, *as God knows very few or none of them are*, it is reason they enjoy them; if otherwise, this manner of finding makes them neither better nor worse."

The last he readily granted, as fully concurring with his own desire and that of Laud to benefit the Church. To satisfy the petitioners, an Act of State was passed confirming these requests, which Lord Wentworth begged might be ratified by the King for form's sake. 1635.

"And," said Lord Wentworth, in asking for this, "because I love ever to reserve something to flow *ex abundanti* from his Majesty to his people more than they asked, at least, looked for, I have added two particulars more than they mention in their petition."

This great supplement of grace was merely to have the confirmation of the Act of State printed and distributed and applied to all three requests instead of the last two. Truly, he was correct in the value attached to "a few good words."

How great was his contempt for the mere thought of opposition in Ireland may be judged from the opinion he expressed about Galway. This was to be the next place of inquisition, and he was warned that matters would not go so smoothly there as in Roscommon. His remark on this intelligence was: "I could wish that county would stand out: for I am well assured it shall turn to his Majesty's advantage if they do. For certain, it is a country which lies out at a corner by itself, and all the inhabitants wholly natives and papists, hardly an Englishman amongst them, whom they kept out with all the industry in the world. And therefore it would be of great security they were thoroughly lined with English indeed."*

The readiness with which Roscommon was obtained was very satisfactory, and, according to his invariable custom, Lord Wentworth sent to the King the names

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to Secretary Coke, i., 444.

1635. of those who had been most useful in carrying out his wishes. The foreman of the jury, Sir Lucas Dillon, was specially named as worthy of reward.

"I confess," said Lord Wentworth, "I delight to do well for such as I see frame to serve my master the right and cheerful way, albeit, it be no more than we are all of us bound to do, and churlish enough I can be to such as do otherwise."

The last was as painful as the other was an agreeable truth; which of each interfered the most with justice can be judged only by considering whether avarice or fear sways more in human counsels.

Lord Wentworth obtained his desire in the matter of Galway, though he possibly found it attended with greater trouble than he wished.

Sligo and Mayo followed the dutiful example of Roscommon; but when the Commission was opened in Galway, the warning that had been given was found to be based on truth.

The principal proprietor and most influential nobleman in Galway was the Earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, and he was at present with his son in England, but was sufficiently represented by his nephew the Viscount Clanmorris. This Lord Clanmorris seems to have been the first to make a firm resistance to the claims of the King, though Lord Wentworth suspected that he was, in reality, secretly incited by his uncle in England.

Precisely the same arguments were adduced for the King's title to Galway that had been acknowledged without a murmur by the other three counties; but the jury in this instance found against the King.

Lord Wentworth and his fellow-Commissioners soon

gave proof that the jury was a mere form of civility, as had been notified to Roscommon. The sheriff was at once accused, as appears, on no better grounds than the fact of the adverse verdict, of packing the jury with a view to defraud the King, and fined a thousand pounds. The jury were bound over to appear before the Castle Chamber to answer for their verdict, and a proclamation published ascribing the act of the jury to a plot of which the inhabitants at large were declared presumably innocent, if they chose to accept the King's grace, and take steps to declare his title. 1635.

The reasons assigned for the defection of Galway were as follows:—

1. The Earl of St. Albans was the governor of Galway, and his relations and connexions were almost all priests or Roman Catholics under the influence of the priests. Should the King's title be acknowledged, it was well known that the result would be an extensive immigration of English Protestants to form a new plantation, which, in addition to the numerous wards in Chancery that would be obtained by the King, and, as such, educated as Protestants, would be a great blow to the Catholic power in Galway. And this the priests were straining every nerve to prevent.

2. The counsellors-at-law were all Roman Catholic recusants, and as such counselled the jury against the King.

3. There was hardly a Protestant freeholder in the county. Nearly all were Catholics, who took no step without the advice of the priests and Jesuits.

In short, the Roman Catholic interest was at the whole root of the opposition.

Lord Clanmorris openly appeared in court to oppose

1635.

the King's title, and another nephew of Lord St. Albans, who was one of the jury, was bold enough to pull a brother juror by the sleeve while the Lord Deputy was speaking to him, insolence which was at once followed by a fine of £500.

The result of the inquisition, with the causes of the failure, was then sent to the King. Lord Wentworth implored his Majesty to act in confirmation of his words, that his title depended on no jury, and begged him not to submit to the verdict. Also, as it was possible that Lord St. Albans might disown the deeds and words of his nephew (who had expressed a wish that Galway had been first, so as to set an example to others), and might try to make a composition with the King, Lord Wentworth begged that all admission of his claims might be ignored, and the ground alone taken of the King's absolute right.

Lest the Earl should come over to Ireland and add to the rebellious spirit, the King was requested to forbid both himself and his son to leave England till special permission was accorded. No precaution was omitted. The fort of Galway was in rather a dilapidated condition, and could not be put in good order under at least £1000. But Wentworth requested permission to repair it, and to place in it a good garrison of four or five foot companies, with the same number and a troop of horse at Athenry, a town about eight miles distant, and fortified with a strong wall. All troops under the command of Lord St. Albans or his son, he advised, should be removed from the infected county, and assigned to distant stations, while reinforcements should be added to other regiments.

The county being thus put in an armed condition to fortify the will of the King, it was proposed to confiscate all the lands of the offending jurors and of any who disputed the King's title, and, in their place, to plant English settlers. 1635.

"There is now," said Wentworth, "a fair opportunity put into His Majesty's hands to lay a sure foundation for reducing and securing this county of Galway (of all the four by much the greatest) by fully lining and planting it with English, which could not have been so thoroughly done, as for the public safety is necessary, if the pretended owners of lands in this county have not a greater portion taken from them than is appointed by the articles of plantation to be applied to His Majesty's benefit in the other three counties."

Thus, it was an excellent thing for the people of Galway to provoke a punishment so profitable to the King. And this furnished another reason for reinforcing the army. For it was highly probable that the old and dispossessed inhabitants of the Galway estates, as well as all their friends and relations, should look with dangerous and unquiet jealousy on the proposed new planters from England, who, unless rendered secure, would not care to invest labour and capital in what might be wrested from them in a successful rebellion.

The crowning proposal was that Lord St. Albans and his son should be removed from the government. And as hertofore Galway had held the position almost of a county palatine, that it should be reduced from its dignity to a dependency of Connaught.

Lord Wentworth at once obtained from the King

1635. the whole of his desires. The army was reinforced, the fort of Galway repaired, the offenders punished, and the fines already inflicted approved. The jurors, who were declared by the Commissioners to be Lord St. Albans's kindred, or near alliance, or dependents on him—with the exception of two—were singled out as special objects of warning. In finding against the King's title, the chief ground they had taken was that Connaught had not been conquered by Henry the Second, but had only submitted to him, and, consequently, the King had only the dominion, but not the property, of the lands. They were tried for attempt to defraud the King, found guilty, and each sentenced to pay a fine of 4,000*l.*, to acknowledge upon their knees in court and at the assizes that they were guilty in not finding the King's title good, and to be imprisoned till the fines were paid.*

The King's title to the whole of Connaught was now declared good by conquest; and an act in Council passed, ordaining that those who were possessed of lands in the several counties thereof in virtue of letters patent from the Crown, should enjoy their estates as fully as if they had been specially found in the great office, provided they produced their patents, or the enrollments thereof, at the Board, before the first day of the next Easter term.

Several patents were then produced which had passed under a commission issued by James the First. But flaws were found in them, and they were consequently pronounced illegal and void. As all resistance was so plainly useless, unless indeed the patentees had an army to support their claims, as the less of two evils

* Carte's "Life of Ormond," i., 165.

they submitted, and at a considerable expense to themselves, and equal profit to the King, received new patents for their lands. 1635.

Immense sums were raised by fines upon grants for plantations found illegal, by the renewal of patents to those who were declared to have forfeited their lands by a breach, on their side, of their covenants with the Crown. In this way one estate alone brought in 15,000*l.* fine for the illegality of the title. The city of London, which held the plantations of Londonderry and Coleraine of the Crown, was summoned for breach of agreement, by the non-performance of certain articles, and though the company offered a compromise by paying 30,000*l.*, it was not considered enough, and on being brought before the Star Chamber, the whole plantation was declared forfeited, and a fine of 70,000*l.* imposed.

Wentworth was especially delighted with this result. He wrote to the King proposing to settle the forfeited lands of the unhappy Londoners on the Duke of York. If it were properly managed, he said, it might be made a seignory not unworthy his little Highness, and he himself would labour day and night for that purpose. This scheme, like many of the same author, fell to the ground for lack of time to develop it.

An estate belonging to Lord Wilmot, of the value of 500*l.* a-year, was next declared forfeited to the Crown; and this was soon followed by a profitable grant in the customs, belonging to the widowed Duchess of Buckingham, who refused to restore it for a consideration, at the command of Wentworth. She was enabled to hold out for some time; but a second marriage which she contracted against the wish

1635. of the King swept away the extraordinary advantages she had retained as the relict of the lost favourite, and Wentworth carried the day. But it would be endless, almost, and certainly too tedious, to recount in detail the confiscations to the Crown that were made on the plea of defective titles, breaches of contract, failures of rents, unperformed penalties for the rebellions of ancestors, and every conceivable plea. To swell the exchequer was the avowed object of the Lord Deputy, and no impediment that it lay in human power to remove was allowed to hinder his plan. Conscience, consideration, just interpretation of the law, were trifles light as air in such a matter; the legal and illegal holders of estates had equally to bow to the holder of power. The one thing certain was, that resistance, whether by an individual or a jury, was charged with far heavier consequences for those who ventured to make it than any amount of submission of will or renunciation of land. In the latter case, something was likely to be saved; in the first, not only was the whole estate in question almost sure to be lost, but a heavy fine, perhaps accompanied with loss of office and even of personal liberty in addition.

So far, in every strife, the Lord Deputy had always proved the victor.

CHAPTER XV.

THE deadly hatred awakened on all sides may better be imagined than described. 1635.

Before the acts related in the last chapter, Lord Wentworth had provoked the bitterest enmity by his pride, his sternness, and regardlessness for the feelings of the culprits. Even his most praiseworthy acts of justice and resolution in curing real evils, in protecting the weak against the strong, in restoring plundered property to the right owners, in sweeping off sinecures, and insisting that officers of state should follow his own example in working for their salaries, met with no applause from the country. There were then no party newspapers to aid a public man, and the virtues of an unpopular character were known little beyond the small circle of his personal friends. But it was known that families who had succeeded unchallenged to the estate of their father, and who had perhaps endeared themselves to their neighbours by their hospitality and benevolence to the poor, were suddenly, by a mysterious process, deprived of their patrimony, which was given into the hands of strangers from England, whose dress, manners, and language formed a striking contrast to those of the natives of Ireland. Perhaps the forfeited estate had, in reality, been gained

1635. in precisely the same manner that the new possessors obtained it. But that would scarcely be allowed to influence the feelings of the natives. For an Irishman to be expelled, and for an Englishman to take his place, was a fact that, irrespective of circumstances, aroused the most bitter hatred against the ruler who was the cause, and the purchaser who reaped the benefit of the change.

Consequently, the just and unjust evictions were judged alike by the populace, whose simplicity of passion led them to generalise in their own favour pretty much in the way that cunning and calculation led the deputy to generalise in favour of the King. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the thoughts of Wentworth often wandered to Ravallac. Not alone were the Roman Catholic priests arrayed against him, but many of the mercenary dignitaries of the Church of England, whom he had forced into their duty. Then came the lay holders of Church property, whom he had ordered to restore. But all their united anger was less than the rage of the great landholders, who saw themselves in a few months stripped of possessions on which they depended for power, and luxury, and influence, and which they and their fathers before them had held unchallenged. In spite of the law, forbidding any to quit the country without permission of the Lord Deputy, numbers went in the wildest excitement to England to appeal to the King or the law against the confiscations of which they had been the victims. Not the least of the consequences of their return was the spreading reports to the disadvantage of the Lord Deputy in all parts of England. When we think how amply sufficient were

so many of his actions and words, barely stated to
awaken the indignation of juster men, it will easily be
seen to what a pitch of fury many were roused who
heard, unquestioned, the most exaggerated reports of
his deeds, side by side with many wicked slanders
and utter inventions of his enemies—while the real
benefits he had conferred, the large amount of un-
doubted good that he was doing, were not named. 1635.

So rife became the murmurs at the English Court, that the friends of Wentworth began to be alarmed. Laud became especially anxious; and while pleading for his absent friend, did not fail to write and caution him, in such language as this: "My lord, I am the bolder to write this last line to you upon a late accident, which I have very casually discovered in Court. I find that, notwithstanding all your great services in Ireland, which are most graciously accepted by the King, you want not them which whisper, and perhaps speak louder where they think they may, against your proceedings in Ireland, as being overfull of personal prosecutions against men of quality. And they stick not to instance in St. Albans and Lord Wilmot.

"And this is somewhat loudly spoken by some on the Queen's side.

"And although I know a great part of this proceeds from your wise and noble proceedings against the Romish party in that kingdom, yet that shall never be made the cause in public, but advantages taken (such as they can) from these and the like particulars, to blast you and your honour, if they be able to do it.

"I know you have a great deal more resolution in you than to decline any service due to the King, State, or Church, for the barking of discontented persons,

1635. and God forbid but you should. And yet, my lord, if you could find a way to do all these great services, and decline these storms, I think it would be excellent well thought on.

"I heartily pray your lordship to pardon me this freedom, which I brought with me into your friendship, and which (though sometimes to my own hurt) I have used with all the friends I have.' For I profess I write this to you out of a great deal of sense what clamorous reports may work in time, though I am most confident they cannot wrong you with the King, our master, who looks upon the services which are done him with his own eyes, and not through other men's reports."

Few of Laud's letters were more creditable to him than this, both in the spirit and the good sense therein manifested.

But Lord Wentworth's fears were aroused by a different cause and on another subject than his unpopularity. He said truly that so long as he knew the King to be satisfied with him, he was content to bear the ill-feeling of others with patience—sometimes with a dangerous scorn. But what, in reality awakened his anxieties and often kept him on the rack was the fear lest the King should not confirm in England, or should even revoke the decrees of his Lord Deputy in Ireland. The vacillation of Charles was known to him now by too many painful instances. And if a King, experienced in statesmanship, knowing how much depended on consistency and firmness, and having such proof of the faithfulness of a servant, could, nevertheless, trifle with his promises of support, what dependence could be placed on the nation at

large. Ever over the chair of state of the Lord Deputy hung the sword by a hair. Let the people once be convinced that he was out of favour with the King, that the King did not support him heart and soul, and neither his rule nor his life were safe a single hour. It was the favour of the King and the English troops that had hitherto enabled him to carry out his extraordinary measures. And it had been the want of this royal support that had helped to render so puny and hopeless the efforts of his predecessors. 1635.

Even in the matter of Church reform, the assistance of Laud was of enormous advantage. It was a great thing to know that all responsibility for his measures with regard to the Church was assumed by her highest dignitary, who also served as a broad shield in England to receive and ward off any blows aimed at the principal actor.

This was painfully felt by poor Lord Falkland, who had so little to boast of on quitting the office of Deputy, that he could not afford to lose the credit of adding a gallery to the castle, and of begging a written acknowledgment of it from Lord Wentworth, whom he also reminded :

“One advantage your lordship will have, that I wanted in the time of my government, an Archbishop of Canterbury to friend, who is, withal, a person of especial power to assist you in that part which shall assist the Church government, the third and principal member of the kingdom.”

When Laud wrote to warn Wentworth in the language we have quoted, the latter was suffering extreme anxiety on the subject of the Earl of Cork, who was trying by means of his friends to move the King to spare time in

1635. the confiscation of the church lands he had so long held. He begged permission to come to England to state his own cause, and had even enlisted in his favour Lord Clifford, the brother-in-law of Wentworth, to whose influence with his great relation he trusted much. Such influence in gaining a favour in an indifferent matter, and where there had been no previous quarrel would have been irresistible, for Clifford was the brother of the first Lady Wentworth, and the Lord Deputy's early friend. But in matters of state, or where there was personal venom, Wentworth was impenetrable to such appeals, if they did not even increase his anger; and between him and Lord Cork was now an incurable hatred, provoked by himself in the wanton insult offered to the earl's feelings, in pulling down his family monument, a deed even more likely to produce lasting rancour than the confiscation of so much of his property. Personal affronts always wound more deeply, and leave a keener sting than what are called solid injuries.

With his usual earnestness, Wentworth wrote to Coke and Laud, pointing out the evil effects of the earl being allowed to escape, after so much had been done to prove the royal and ecclesiastical claims.

If the King relented the Church would lose heavily; and though by a secret composition the earl might, in this one instance, take care that the King should be no loser, yet, by the evil precedent it would set forth, it was incalculable how much it would cause the King to lose in other cases. It would be a blemish upon the administration of the King's justice in Ireland, and "raise an overweening" in men of rank and position, and make it appear as if the authority of the

Lord Deputy did not reach up to them, but was set rather over the poor, a belief, indeed, they had hitherto been far too ready to encourage in others and act upon themselves. 1635

If these "outlets into England" should be opened on any other ground than in cases of appeal (and God forbid the Lord Deputy and his Council should shrink from accountability in the discharge of justice!), the King would find himself ever surrounded with importunate suitors, who, by their irregular proceedings, would distract his Majesty's servants in England and discourage those in Ireland. If he listened to them, he must imply unfitness in those he had appointed in Ireland.

Again, if Lord Cork and others like him were released, a great and notable warning would be lost to the commonwealth, and a great opportunity missed of raising the spirits and inspiring the confidence of the masses, who, in the full punishment of a powerful earl for rapacity, would see that the King was resolved to exact right of the most exalted, who would then not dare to oppress the weak. Especially the poorest among the clergy would no more see their little incomes curtailed to swell the purses of their patrons.

One opinion of Lord Wentworth's deserves especial attention, and the more credit, as it touches one of the greatest abuses of the day—the secret compositions that enabled rich men to close up law-suits when they appeared to take an adverse course. He upheld the practice of paying a heavy fine to escape a trial or an inquisition, but declared that it ought to be paid in public.

"The private compounding," said he, "and com-

1635. muting penance, as it were, is for the most part neither so honourable nor yet so profitable as when in an open and fair way things fall into public judgment. Sure I am, in all my small observation, calumny hath ever underboard snarled, and snatched something of truth or beauty from those closer and stiller kind of proceedings. So as, indeed, I am against them in all men's cases once agitated in the public courts of his Majesty's justice, and therefore shall never begin any of them, until I have first consulted his Majesty and had his consent therein." *

This last argument, most just as a general rule, told with peculiar force in the present instance. For the King to come to terms by a private bargain, to secure his own claims with the earl, while he yielded those of the Church, was a transaction that could hardly be accomplished in public; and yet for every other reason of warning, of example, and to avoid being overwhelmed with similar applications, either to be granted to his own unheard-of amount of loss or to be dismissed for no better reasons than in the present case, it was desirable this should be heard in public.

Then came the reason which Wentworth proudly declared was the greatest of all. The King could not relax the claims on the earl without an affront to the dignity of the Lord Deputy.

"It imports his Majesty's service, it may be, as much to preserve the credit of a Deputy engaged with his privy in a great and honourable proceeding as the person of this earl.

"So soon as men shall but think me lost in my credit with my master, instantly I become as useless

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to the King, i. 460.

and dead to these affairs as is the rule and square laid 1635.
aside by the owner that formerly employed them in the
disposing and ordering his work."

The private appeals to the King by the landholders of Galway Lord Wentworth attributed to the advice of the priests and Jesuits. He said it had always been one of their chief arts thus to send agents quietly to England to scatter doubts of the Deputies, and kindle distrust between the Irish ministers and the sovereign.

The conquest of the claim to Galway he declared to be the most important matter since his arrival. If Galway were lost, then all royal authority and prestige would be lost with it. But if the priestly agents in England met with the reception they deserved, then the possession of Galway would be confirmed to the Crown, and such a victory over the most zealous Roman Catholic part of Ireland would be the victory over all, and that, too, in the great matter of religion. It would only be a matter of time to ensure a conformity of religion, which he looked to be brought to pass rather by quiet influence than persecution for creed, an attempt he well knew would end in failure.

Charles, who had several times thwarted the Deputy by granting Irish honours and titles of nobility, and commissions in the Irish army without his knowledge, was wiser in the case of the Galway estates. He at once grasped the fact of the heavy losses in money that would be the result of slighting counsel there. He calmed the irritation of Wentworth by writing a special letter of thanks and approbation for the manner in which he had managed the disputed titles, and

1635. confirmed all his past acts. He sent him word that, no matter what might have been said to Lord Cork (with whom his Majesty had plainly been tampering), that, unless he made full submission to the Deputy and full restitution to the Church, and the whole amount of such fine as the Deputy should impose, he was not to come to England. But if he did all that was thus required by the Deputy, and still wished to come over, then he might be gratified.

Lord Wentworth was, therefore, at peace—that is to say, at such peace as a man rarely free from physical pain and charged with the heavy responsibilities of a kingdom in addition to private matters on a large scale could be. Peace to him meant the knowledge that the King had left none of his acts of state unratified, and that his plans for advancing the wealth and power of the King were prospering.

His winter work for 1635–6 was all arranged as far as possible, but, before commencing it, he took a survey of his own estates, as well as he could, by the reports of his agents, and gave minute directions for the management of all that was not immediately under his own eye. A mind so capacious unconsciously identified even his personal acts with the national interest, his private profit turned to the public good; some little return it might seem for his attempt to reduce the national prosperity to the service of an individual king.

For a lover of the country and an admirer of nature in her most cultivated aspect, it is difficult to imagine a more delightful habitation than the estate of Lord Wentworth. Marvellous must have been the impulse, irresistible the temptation that could make him exile

himself from such an abode to what was, to an Englishman, almost as much a foreign land as any country on the Continent. Especially, must the poverty and comparative meanness of Ireland have struck upon him, as we have seen it did on his first arrival. For of Wentworth Woodhouse the great characteristic was plenty. The fields, the waters, the woods, the courts, the very air of Yorkshire poured their profusion into his estates. Even beneath the soil he had his riches, and a portion of his wealth was derived from the collieries of the North. But it was not for the appetite of luxury that he increased his wealth. He was no sybarite. Whatever bodily luxuries he used were merely as alleviations of his miserable health. He would have spared nothing to cure his gout, but no man had a more supreme contempt for the indulgences, that, possibly, otherwise regarded by some of his ancestors, were the cause of his constitutional sufferings.

Had his habits not been those of the most rigid temperance in all things, with his sensitive nerves and feverish blood, he would speedily have been carried to the grave, not "by staggering paces," but by a *coup de main* at the first onset. But thus it was. He was branded as a reckless liver, and his torturing maladies, so bravely borne, so fearfully struggled with, were ascribed to the effects of intemperance. The only colour that could be found for this was that he was at times subject to fainting fits, the result of exhaustion after pain, and had, when seized, to be carried to bed, and probably, though that is not named, revived with cordials. But to be carried to his couch, as well as from it, was no uncommon thing, without fainting

1635. being the cause. One of his most dreadful enemies was the gout, which would deprive him for weeks of the power of walking, and often, when he was able to move with a stick, causing him to totter and force him to support himself by placing his hand on the shoulder of an attendant.

Such a charge in the mouth of interested slander would be especially telling among the Puritans, who gained their very name from the austerity of their lives. But it is especially to their honour that even, while seeking for every accusation against Wentworth, this was a charge they scorned to bring. Pym, his most bitter enemy, could not stoop among the carrion birds, the jackals and hyænas, that ever in the hour of anguish of a great man fling at him their loathsome garbage in order to make the stains and spots they then declare to have appeared spontaneously and from a self-sown cause. It would, indeed, be unworthy of mention, but that this, among other falsehoods equally infamous, has crept into many a widely read and respectable book. This, too, was not the worst, though one of the falsest charges against Lord Wentworth. We have seen how peculiarly happy he was in married life. By each of his wives he was utterly beloved, and, in return, in every case, he proved a most devoted husband. Yet he has been accused of the worst cruelty and unfaithfulness to his wives; and his enemies, resting at nothing, have not scrupled to charge him with the murder of the first, by giving her a violent blow, the effect of which was to produce a cancer that resulted in death.*

* "One of the thousand horrible and disgusting falsehoods circulated concerning Strafford."—MR. FORSTER.

We cannot wonder that he was stung with such monstrous untruths. It is easy for an unconcerned spectator or listener to recommend silent contempt, indifference, and other philosophical remedies for such ills. But the more pure and innocent of the charge the more sensitive to the anguish of the smart will the victim be found. And too, unhappily, not until such slanders are widely spread in all directions is the person most interested usually made aware of the liberties taken with his name. Not one in a thousand of the respectable accomplices, who, because the invention did not begin with them, but they merely repeat it, excuse themselves, have the justice or the courage boldly and in time to apply the antidote, to go to the accused and injured and ask an explanation, and warn him of the poison poured.

Whether Wentworth knew the whole extent of the last-named report is not sure. But the last to repeat it, to choose for it the last hours of the victim's life, and to send it gloating down to posterity, was a pious Scotch presbyterian minister and principal of a college. He shows no compunction as he utters it, he gives not a word in proof of it, cites no authority, and finally exhibits the rotten foundation of the whole revolting invention by making Wentworth speak of his first "murdered" wife as the mother of his children, whereas she was the only one of the three who never had a child.

Radcliffe, who makes no allusion to this precious anecdote, as either ignorant of it or scorning it as beneath his pen, yet alludes to the report of his unfaithfulness, and emphatically denies the charge. In reference to it, he says: "he was exceedingly much

1635. wronged. I had occasion of some speech with him about the state of his soul several times. But twice especially, when, I verily believe, he did lay open unto me the very bottom of his heart.

“Once was when he was in a very great affliction upon the death of his second wife, and then for some days and nights I was very few minutes out of his company. The other time was at Dublin, on a Good Friday (his birth-day), when he was preparing himself to receive the blessed sacrament on Easter Day following. At both these times, I received such satisfaction as left no scruple with me at all, but much allowance of his chastity. I knew his ways long and intimately, and though I cannot clear him from all frailties (for who can justify the most innocent man?) yet I must give him the testimony of conscientiousness in his ways, that he kept himself from gross sins, and endeavoured to approve himself rather unto God than unto man; to be religious inwardly and in truth, rather than outwardly and in show.”

Radcliffe speaks of the charge of “gross sins” as defamation, and though, of course, from so partial a friend, we should not admit the summary of his character as stated in general terms, yet where, as in the present instance, he particularises in order to refute, his word deserves its weight, and, especially, when so amply corroborated by others, while the charge is, as above shown, marked by a palpable falsehood.

No. Assuredly, neither intemperance nor licentiousness was among the faults of Lord Wentworth. What these faults were has been already, and will be further shown, without the faintest attempt to repre-

sent them other than they really were, either to lighten or darken their hue. Simply, they are given with their attendant circumstances and accompanying virtues. 1635.

One redeeming point of his government, both public and private, can scarcely be too much estimated, its rarity being quite equal to its value. This was his unwearied effort to gain a minute and accurate knowledge of the circumstances that he swayed. And, as before said, this cannot be too highly rated in the master of a household.

For of all tyranny, the worst and hopeless, and yet the most common, is where the family despot disdains to examine into those matters over which he nevertheless claims and exercises the authority of an omnipotent god. The guardian, perhaps of a relation he dislikes, he deposes the management of the property and person to what is always worse than the immediate rule of a tyrant, viz., the tyranny of a sub-despot. This latter has but to make himself acquainted with the prejudices of his employer, and to flatter them to make as abject a slave of his patron as of the avowed subjects of his dominion. It is vain that the sufferers under such a system, seeing the delusions and impositions practised, trust that they have but to put the truth in its pure light and invite the strictest examination, they soon find, after repeated failures, that this investigation is of all things the most odious to the person who most needs to make it, and that to give proof that he has been in the wrong is not to obtain the remedy, but the additional hatred of him whose errors have thus been made manifest. Equally detestable to him are the trouble and the mortification

1635. attendant on such a reversion of former proceedings, and the victim has to learn by the prolongation of hopeless injustice how rare, almost to a marvel of nature, is that disposition whose magnanimity can bear to say, "I have been wrong from the beginning to the end," which, on the first suspicion that it had misjudged another, cannot rest till it has probed the truth to its very source, and finds its only consolation for the pangs of remorse in the endeavour to console and compensate, the victim of cunning and malignity.

Some may, perhaps, think it an aggravation of Lord Wentworth's most arbitrary acts, that they were committed with his eyes open, and that he had not the excuse of ignorance and of being deceived. It is far otherwise. To pain the life of another is not more excusable from the fact of that other being slandered, and most rare is it that belief in a slander affords any palliation for cruelty. For, often, that very belief is a worse act of cruelty than any punishment based upon it. When we know the whole truth is before the world, it is comparatively easy to endure an unjust infliction, for we are sure that some at least will judge justly and give us sympathy. But to feel our deeds innocent in themselves, founded on innocent, perhaps highly laudable and disinterested motives, are placed in such a light as to deceive the good, whose approbation is ever precious, and to awaken blame and injury where nothing but esteem and kindness are deserved, this is the worst infliction of all. The deliberate forger of slander must, indeed, be looked on as the blackest criminal, but, surely, next is he who from sheer idleness and dislike of investigation of facts can

receive falsehoods into his own mind first, and, afterwards, be the means of transferring them to the minds of others. This last crime has been more dwelt on here from the levity with which it is usually regarded, as well as that it belongs to the present subject. We shall see how immeasurably less were the consequences of evil when that evil was free from the mark of hypocrisy, and not entangled in the net of ignorance. The courage which was so remarkable an attribute of Lord Wentworth, the moral courage that led him openly to avow his deeds as they really were when he avowed them at all, led to the remedy in his own day, and has enabled posterity to form a just opinion. I have now to relate the very worst and most cruel deed of his life. It is fortunate that an account of it exists in his own writing, an account which exactly agrees with that of his enemies. Perhaps no story has ever varied less in the hands of different relaters than the one I am about to give.

William Annesly, Viscount Mountnorris, had long held the office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. In that capacity, Lord Wentworth first made his acquaintance on his own appointment as Lord Deputy. Lord Mountnorris appears to have been generally unpopular with his own party—that is to say, the royalists. We find him everywhere ill spoken of, and no friend proclaimed his virtues till the enmity towards Wentworth, more than friendship to himself, brought forth a display of feeling that would have been of more value had it been earlier manifested. Lord Clarendon had a special dislike for him. He thus describes him :—

“He was a man of great industry, activity, and experience in the affairs of Ireland, having raised

1635. himself from a very private, mean condition (having been an inferior servant to Lord Chichester) to the degree of a viscount and a Privy Councillor, and to a very ample revenue in lands and offices; and had always, by servile flattery and sordid application, wrought himself into trust and nearness with all Deputies at their first entrance upon their charge, informing them of the defects and oversights of their predecessors, and at the determination of their commands and return into England, informing the State here (England), and those enemies they usually contracted in that time, of whatsoever they had done, or suffered to be done, amiss; whereby they either suffered disgrace or damage, as soon as they were recalled from those honours.

“In this manner, he began with his own master, the Lord Chichester, and continued the same acts upon the Lord Grandison and the Lord Falkland, who succeeded; and upon that score procured admission and trust with the Earl of Strafford, upon his first admission to that government.”

This character, like all those of Lord Clarendon, is so clearly and graphically drawn in a few pointed sentences, that it almost ensures implicit credit by the skill of the artist alone. But we must accept it, as we accept similar sketches, with due reservation.

Many of the expressions here quoted admit of two interpretations, and others we shall find contradicted by the bearing of Lord Mountnorris, whose acts have been too slightly reported to enable us to form an accurate judgment of his real character. General assertions, such as the above, are always dangerous, and often unfair, unless they are accompanied by a

relation of specific acts on which they are founded. 1635.
This, the real basis on which to build the report of a character, is too often in history, as well as in present life, found to be left out. But without it, of what value is the superstructure? It is what every man has a right to claim at the hands of the reporter of his character. What, for instance, are we to understand by the expression "*sordid application*?" And without any baseness or treachery whatever, he might, by way of honest caution to a new Deputy, have pointed out the mistakes of his predecessor. And it was better only to name them to third parties, when it could not possibly do mischief, than secretly to report while professing friendship. As to servile flattery, it would have been more to Mountnorris's worldly interest had he practised it.

We shall find that, from the beginning, he was too careless of pleasing the Lord Deputy. Their very acquaintance commenced with a seeming neglect on his part.

After the appointment of Lord Wentworth to Ireland, while he was forced to remain at York, he was, of course, all the more dependent on the zeal and punctuality of his subalterns. And he was astonished to find that, instead of diligently fulfilling his duties at Dublin, where, as there was no real treasurer, he was urgently needed, that Lord Mountnorris was idling away his time with his wife at West-Chester. This was quite in accordance with previous habits among the state officers of Ireland, who had hitherto shown little enough of that "*sordid application*" of which Lord Clarendon speaks. Lord Mountnorris was one of the first to receive notification of the change. A special

1635. messenger was sent to order his immediate departure, and lest any excuse of private affairs should be made, he was told to leave everything to the care of his friends—even his wife, whom Lord Wentworth undertook to see safely to Dublin, should she not be able to depart on the instant along with her husband.

Lady Mountnorris was a relation of the second wife of Lord Wentworth. Such connexions always seemed to give him an uneasy feeling that was not altogether without justification. He always protested that, while such relationship should but make him feel a deeper interest in private, it must in no way influence him in political matters; and the frequency with which he alludes to this seems to imply that caution was not altogether uncalled for.

Lord Mountnorris was watched by his superior with the same vigilance that was bestowed on all his colleagues in office. The result was not perfectly satisfactory. It appeared that, in order to gain a small salary of twenty pounds a year, in addition to his income as Vice-Treasurer, he got himself appointed a Commissioner of Accounts in Ireland, except for such sums as naturally passed into his hands in virtue of his higher office. Such an office had never been held by a Vice-Treasurer before, and was looked upon as an abuse by the Lord Deputy, who wrote to that effect to Mr. Secretary Coke, desiring that the office might at once be taken from Mountnorris and given to Sir Gerrard Lowther, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas—and, with his invariable foresight and care of time, sending with this request a blank form of the warrant to be filled in with the new Commissioner's name, should his request be granted.

Other complaints, of a similar nature, were made against Mountnorris. The Privy Council of England sent over to stop his small gains. But this did not end the matter. Wentworth had now taken to him one of those violent hatreds which he seemed never to subdue, and which broke out in intermittent attacks upon its object. 1635.

Lord Mountnorris was a captain in the Irish army, and had a brother also an officer. Shortly after the close of Parliament, Lord Wentworth, in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief, was exercising his troops in Dublin. Young Annesly, the brother of Mountnorris, was one of the officers present, and his horse becoming restive, he got out of order himself, and disturbed the evolutions of the others. Lord Wentworth reproved him for his awkwardness, declaring that he did so with the utmost mildness, and then turned away. But Annesly, believing himself unobserved by the most important person present, revenged himself for the rebuke he had received, by ridiculing and jeering at the Deputy before the troops. Wentworth caught sight of him, and suddenly turning upon him, laid his cane on his shoulder, but without striking a blow, and told him that if he behaved like that any more, he "would lay him over the pate."

This undignified expression was yet, it must be admitted, a very light penalty for so gross a breach of military discipline, and of the conduct of a gentleman as that manifested by Annesly. The great error in the punishment was on the side of levity, and with our knowledge of the character of Lord Wentworth, it seems almost incomprehensible that he should have rested there. However, no mention was made of

1635. further account, and the matter appeared to be dropped.

But the consequences had not so lightly died away. Shortly after, Lord Wentworth, while suffering under one of his most terrible attacks of gout, was compelled to hold a Privy Council at the castle. As the members were rising, one of the attendants on the Lord Deputy, by accident, let fall a heavy stool on his gouty foot. Maddened with the sudden agony, in pardonable rage, the tortured Deputy struck the offender sharply with his cane. The attendant chanced to be a relation of Mountnorris, and a report was soon spread abroad that he had purposely dropped the stool on the Lord Deputy's foot, in order to revenge the stroke of the cane on his cousin's shoulder at the review. At a large dinner party at the house of Sir Adam Loftus, the Lord Chancellor, this story was repeated. Lord Mountnorris was present, and very evidently some of his enemies also. For, after the party was over, the Lord Deputy was informed of the subject of conversation, and that, on hearing the anecdote of the stool, Lord Mountnorris had remarked,—

“Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront my Lord Deputy had done him formerly. But he had a brother that would not take such a revenge.”

The phrase is variously reported, and is here given in the words of the charge by Wentworth himself. In any case, it is obscure and unmeaning, and to wrest evil from it might be thought impossible. But what is impossible to the intention to injure another? In what manner has injury ever been more deeply inflicted than by the misrepresentation of the meaning of innocent words! Eight months elapsed, Mountnorris was

summoned to attend the Lord Deputy at a Council of War. On his arrival, he asked the object of several officers who were awaiting the President. All professed their ignorance. At length, the Lord Deputy arrived, and taking his place, bade all the rest be seated. He then ordered his counsel to open the case against Lord Mountnorris, who, for the first time, knew that he stood there not as a Privy Councillor, but as a defendant. 1635.

On being charged with the words above given, and desired to answer whether he had or had not uttered them, he desired to have the charge in writing.

"The words," he said, "were uttered so long before, that it was hard to reply so suddenly."

He also begged that he might have a counsel.

To this Lord Wentworth replied, that was not the course of a court-martial, he must answer at once, in which several of the Council agreed. Mountnorris remaining silent, Wentworth then said he thought they must proceed against him as a mute, and take the charge for granted, since he would not answer. Mountnorris then begged he might be used as a peer and an officer of the Crown. This was also denied him, as inconsistent with the order of a court-martial. But Lord Mountnorris, who seems to have been ignorant of the intrigues against him, persisted in his demand, and quoted a precedent in the English Court where a counsel had been granted to the defendant in a court-martial.

He was thus proceeding to maintain his position as a peer, a councillor of State, and high officer of the King, entitled to all the privileges and rights thereto appertaining, and as altogether untainted by any

1635. charge but the present of uttering the words stated,* when Lord Wentworth suddenly produced a letter from the King to himself, written the previous July—five months ago. This letter was to the effect that the Privy Council of England, having sent orders to Lord Mountnorris, as Vice-Treasurer, to forbear taking certain sixpences in the pound, he had still, in spite of this order transmitted to him by the Lord Deputy, continued to take them; also, that he had kept numbers waiting for money due to them for months after he had received the warrant to pay—waiting, in fact, till they bribed him with large presents to obtain their own rights. Consequently, the King, by this letter, authorised the Lord Deputy to appoint such persons of the Privy Council as he should think fit to examine into the truth of these charges, and inquire into the accounts of the officers of the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, all of whom had made private complaints of the Vice-Treasurer.†

On hearing this letter now for the first time, the unfortunate prisoner was thunderstruck. He fell on his knees, declaring that he was ignorant of having offended the King, and that he had been misrepresented to him.

On this, Wentworth turned fiercely upon him, and, as Lord Mountnorris afterwards declared, “rebuked him with worse language than was fit to be used to a man who was no peer;” declared that he was not misrepresented, as it was he, the Lord Deputy himself, who had written to the King. He was not accustomed to misrepresent people; and then reverting to the original charge, once more demanded of Mountnorris, did he utter

* Rushworth, 8vo, iii. 428.

the words reported or not. Mountnorris, seeing that 1635.
it was hopeless to struggle, standing alone, as he did, without friends and without counsel, denied having uttered the words as they were reported. On this, witnesses being summoned, Lord Moore and Lord Robert Loftus, the latter, son to the Lord Chancellor, the desired successor to the office of the defendant, solemnly swore that they were present at the dinner party and heard him utter the words in question.

Mountnorris then admitted he might have spoken them, but protested it was in a totally different sense from any containing disrespect. By the words "he hath a brother who would not take such a *revenge*, he only meant that his brother would die before he would give the Deputy and General occasion to give him such a rebuke."

Of course, the explanation was as unmeaning as the words reported appear to have been—if, as is very unlikely, such words as literally given, ever were uttered. But a man in the bewildering and unfair position of Mountnorris, could scarcely be expected to give either an accurate or logical meaning to the expression. The Lord Deputy refused further critical interpretation, admitted the witnesses, and positively ordered one of them, Lord Moore, to take his place as one of the judges to consider the sentence, while the defendant was commanded to withdraw.

The Court then proceeded to consider the nature of the offence, the offence itself being considered as proved, *i.e.* the words were uttered.

Considerable ingenuity was needed for the second part—*viz.*, to find in what the offence consisted. But this was not wanting. It was thus decided :—

1635. "First. The words, '*The public affront, or the disgrace which my Lord Deputy had done him formerly,*' contained a calumny against the person of the Lord Deputy and General of the Army, by insinuating that, indeed, there had been such an affront or disgrace put upon him by the Lord Deputy; whereas, in truth, it was not so, the punishment for Annesly's insolence at the review being adjudged by the whole Council to have been a far milder proceeding with the said Annesly than such an insolence and disobedience to any commander, much more to his general, merited.

"It was, therefore, a speech savouring, doubtless, of malice, to insinuate that as an affront or disgrace, which was indeed a justly-merited, but mild and modest, reprehension and admonition.

"Secondly. The Court conceived the offence to contain an incitement to a revenge in these words: '*But he has a brother that would not take such a revenge,*' which incitement might have given encouragement to that brother—being then and now in this kingdom, and lieutenant of the said Lord Mountnorris's Foot Company—to the said Annesly himself, being continually so near the person of us the Deputy and General, or to some other, to have taken up resolutions of dangerous consequences.

"And the manner of speaking the words does so far aggravate them as there is no place left for any indulgent construction, but such as renders the speaker a delinquent in a high and transcendant manner against the person of his general with his Majesty's authority, whence we derive our power.

"This Council also took it into consideration that, if the like words had been spoken of the sacred person

of our dread sovereign lord the King, they had amounted 1635.
to little less than high treason, which, by same rule
of relation, apply themselves ever to his Majesty, being
directed to the person of his Deputy, and the revenge
thus insolently vaunted to have been taken upon him,
being done when we, the Deputy and General, had
that great and high honour (which we always esteem
ourselves in ourselves far unworthy of) as to be apparelled
and robed with his Majesty's own robe of majesty and
sovereignty.

“We considered, likewise, the time when these
words were spoken, when part of the army was in
motion, and when there were divers companies of foot
and troops of horse in town, and daily in exercising
and training, whereat, for the most part, we the
Deputy were present; and the town full of people
from all parts of the kingdom as unreturned back
to their own dwellings from their sitting in Par-
liament.

“In the next place, for the punishment due to his
offence, we judge it to be an apparent breach and con-
tempt of the 41st Article of the printed Laws and
Orders of War, established for the good conduct of
the service of Ireland, dated the 13th of March, 1633,
and published in print by us the Lord Deputy soon
after our access to this government, in these words of
the said article :—

“‘No man shall give any disgraceful words or
commit any act to the disgrace of any person in his
army or garrison, or any part thereof, upon pain of
imprisonment, public disarming, and banishment from
the army as men disabled for ever to carry arms.’

“And, which is more, in like breach of the 13th

1635. article of the said printed Laws and Orders of War, the words of which article are these :—

“ ‘No man shall offer violence, or contemptuously disobey his commander, or do any act or speak any words in the army or garrison, or impeach the obeying of the general or principal officers’ directions, upon pain of death.’ ”

Those who have carefully read this statement of the Lord Deputy and Privy Council of Ireland, as it were to be wished that all who take interest in the progress of justice and liberty should do, may thus far be doubtful whether human effrontery in the wresting of provisions for good to serve the purposes of evil can go farther than this. The answer will be given in the sentence pronounced on the Vice-Treasurer, his fault, be it remembered, solely consisting in uttering the words relating to his brother, and by no means including the charges otherwise alluded to, and which were set aside for future consideration.

After solemn deliberation and analysis of the crime as above given, fifteen gentlemen of education and principles, supposed to be of such weight as to invest them with the authority of one of the highest councils in the kingdom, were found capable of pronouncing such a judgment as the following :—

“ This council of war, in conformity with his Majesty’s pleasure, signified as aforesaid, and as well to vindicate the honour of us, his Majesty’s Deputy and General of his army, from the wrong and contempt under which we now suffer, to the scandal of this government, and to the ill example of others ; as also to deliver over to all which bear office, or are listed as members of the army under the rule and

government of us his general, an example of justice 1635.
for them to take warning by, how they presume to offend against the authority entrusted with us by his Majesty, do adjudge hereby, order, and decree that the said Lord Mountnorris stands justly and deservedly liable to undergo the censure, pains, and punishments by the said 41st and 13th articles provided against the breakers of good discipline, and the transgressors against those orders, which are, by the said 41st article, imprisonment, public disarming, and banishment from the army as a man for ever disabled to carry arms. And by the said 13th article, death.

“And therefore, according to the said articles, this Council do unanimously, with one joint consent (not one of us being of other opinion) adjudge the said Lord Mountnorris, for his said high and great offences, to be imprisoned, to stand from henceforth deprived of all the places, with the entertainments due thereunto, which he holds now in the army, to be disarmed, to be banished the army, and disabled from ever bearing office therein hereafter. And, lastly, to be shot to death, or to lose his head, at the pleasure of the general.

“Given at his Majesty’s Castle of Dublin, the twelfth day of December, 1635.

“(Signed)

“VALENTIA, THO. CROMWELL, R. RANELAGH,
R. DILLON, LOW ESMOND, KIRCUDBRIGHT,
JO. BORLASE, CHA. COOTE, THO. WEINMAN,
ARTHUR TERRINGHAM, ART. BLUNDELL,
FAITH FORTESCUE, ROBERT FANER, JO.
BORLASE, THO. ROPER.”

1635. "Not one of us being of other opinion," all the names have been given, for, assuredly, if ever guilt needed such diminution as may be gained by division among as great a number as possible, it is the guilt of this infamous sentence. For a simple remark, which all the vile sophistry of the Council cannot torture into the shadow of evil, which, in addition to its own innocence, was uttered in an assembly so mixed, so open, and containing so many anxious to please the Deputy, as to show by that very circumstance how distant were all thoughts of harm from the mind of the utterer, a man is robbed of all his offices, disarmed, dismissed the army ignominiously, imprisoned, and condemned to a cruel and violent death.

It is needless to invent imaginary vices or crimes for Lord Wentworth after this. His worst enemies have only to paint this trial and sentence in their true colours to awaken the indignation and horror that no words can utter. It was incomparably the worst act of his life. But let not the disgust of the reader fall on him alone. The Council of War, which equals him in cruelty, surpasses him in guilt, by the addition of meanness. They delivered the unhappy lord bound into the hands of his enemy without one word of extenuation, one plea for mercy. Here, as in all other of his worst deeds, we still find Wentworth at least free from hypocrisy and boldly avowing his opinion, which, revolting as it is for its injustice and cruelty, yet enables us to do justice to his victim by this very lack of deceit. He professes no tears, no regrets, nor assigns other faults than the one really given.

At first, it seems incomprehensible how, with such plausible grounds in his possession for the downfall of Mountnorris, he should have left what would have fortified his case with all the appearance of justice to build upon a shadow. But the sequel gives the explanation. He never really intended the death of Mountnorris, only to torture him, and vindicate the boundless arrogance of the royal power he personified. And it is pretty sure that, in passing the sentence, the Council knew that it would not be carried into effect. 1635.

After the court had dissolved, and the poor victim was conducted to his lonely prison, there to realise his sad and altered condition, Wentworth wrote to Secretary Coke. In this letter he explains what will have been noticed, the absence of his name from the signatures to the sentence.

“Albeit I, the Deputy, was present, in respect of the necessity of the presence of his Majesty’s General of the Army at such a Council of War, yet must we all certify that I, the said Deputy, did not declare any opinion at all in the cause, but contained myself in silence during all the time of the private debate amongst us that were to give our judgments upon the said cause. And in the conclusion, without any aggravation or other repetition of the matter, did only as General of the Army barely affirm the sentence so given by us, without expressing my own private sense of the cause, one way or the other.”

But, as he expressed his conviction of the complete justice of the sentence, and as we have seen him, in other cases, writing with all his native earnestness before a trial (as in the case of Foulis) to say what the punishment ought to be, there can be little

1635. doubt that he was no more scrupulous in the present instance, and that the Council of War found ample means to discover his wishes previous to the trial.

He now joined the Council in a petition to the King to remit that part of the sentence which ordered Mountnorris to be shot or beheaded, but to leave all the rest to his own mercy, as Lord-Deputy, to use his own curious language : " With a secret purpose in us as to correct him in the necessary execution of the other parts of the sentence."

Of course, his request was granted, of which he was so secure as to act on the certainty, even before he received the pardon of the King.

But the utmost that can be made of the excuse that he never really meant to put Mountnorris to death is, that he was simply only less cruel, less brutal than if he had executed the sentence to the letter. To realise this, we have only to imagine the misery of suspense to the wretched captive, the long hours of agony that must have rolled over him while waiting for the commutation. Then, too, the frightful precedent set in a country where precedent served as law, the hideous example which might now be followed by any tyrannical officer possessed of the power of putting to death the most innocent subaltern whom he could prove to have uttered a few angry words, perhaps altogether just and true.

I have dwelt on the deep tenderness of Lord Wentworth for his family ; but the present act will surely put aside for ever the oft-used argument that fondness in a man for his own family is a proof of real benevolence—such benevolence as was eighteen centuries past felt for little children by One who had none save the orphans scorned of the world.

Lord Mountnorris had twelve children * and a wife who was a near relation of the second wife of Wentworth, the mother of his own boy and girls. But what the wife must feel in prospect of widowhood, the children of orphanage, the father at leaving them all desolate, never entered Lord Wentworth's heart. For their miseries he had no pity. Above all, to the Everlasting Fountain, whose streams are poured into all created hearts, and which our own sensations may so well teach us to know and understand, he felt no attractive power. His own well was deep but narrow; the sympathy that rises to the level of its source came from a source so close to him that it fertilised but a short way. Bright, and rich, and beautiful, indeed, were the gardens that it nurtured; but they were soon fenced in, and all beyond seemed barren, and to him undiscovered ground.

For the credit of human nature, however, the treatment of Mountnorris was not allowed to pass unnoticed, and the murmurs in Dublin soon made him anticipate their echoes in England. With the dogged spirit of resistance that always actuated him when he scorned the voices of his reprovers, so strangely contrasting with the keen grief awakened by the fear lest those he really loved should mistake him, he threw forth defiant sentences in his letters to his English friends.

Thus to Lord Conway :—"The greatest news here, and which will make the greatest noise there, is that my Lord Mountnorris being, in conformity of his Majesty's pleasure in that behalf signified, convened before a Council of War, hath been there sentenced to be banished the army and to lose his life.

* Two families by different marriages.

1635.

“The ground of all will appear forth of the sentence itself, and so I need not repeat it, considering I have appointed my agent to attend your lordship with the sentence itself. Now, I am well foreseeing that, according to my fortune in other matters, there will be those which will impute unto me the severity and roughness of my natural disposition. Howbeit, in good faith, in my own secret counsels, I could to myself never discover those rough hands of Esau they so grievously and loudly lay to my charge. For I daresay that in all the actions of this nature which ever befell me, I shall be found still on the defensive part. And if, because I am necessitated to preserve myself from contempt and scorn, and to keep and retain with me a capacity to serve his Majesty with the honour becoming the dignity of that place I here, by his Majesty's favour, exercise, therefore I must be taken to be such a rigid *Cato censorius* as should render me almost inhospitable to human kind ; yet shall not that persuade me to suffer myself to be trodden upon by men, indeed, of that savage and insolent nature they would have me believed to be, or to deny unto myself and my own subsistence so natural a motion as is defence of a man's self.”

Poor, indeed, is this defence. All the lowest capabilities of the writer's nature seem here unveiled. But the perturbed mind of Wentworth was soon calmed by a letter from Secretary Coke, conveying the perfect approbation of the King for all that had been enacted by the Lord-Deputy and Council concerning Lord Mountnorris. The sentence was fully confirmed, but, in compliance with the petition, his life was granted. Moreover, it was notified that his Majesty, avowing the direction for that way of pro-

ceeding, had calmed and silenced all those spirits that began to make a noise. 1635.

Silenced, perhaps, but no more. The consequences of this deed could, fortunately, not be withheld from its perpetrators even by "his Majesty."

But the final sequel was long delayed, and, meanwhile, Mountnorris was left the prey of his enemies—enemies who, following the most miserable propensity of human nature, were sure to misuse their power in proportion to the innocence of the captive. When did hate not follow injustice!

The frightful shock of his trial and condemnation had the natural effect on Lord Mountnorris. He had not been in prison for two days before he was so alarmingly ill that the physicians declared his instant removal necessary to save his life. It speaks ill for the treatment of the poor captive that Lord Wentworth was able to write coolly the statement of his physicians who sent in their certificate, that "the badness of his lodging might prejudice his health."

It is, probably, at this time that the following touching letter was addressed to Wentworth by the wife of the prisoner:—

The Lady Mountnorris to the Lord Deputy

"MY LORD,

"I beseech your lordship, for the tender mercy of God to take off your heavy hand from my dear lord; and, for her sake, who is with God, be pleased not to make me and my poor infants miserable, as we must of necessity be by the hurt you do to him.

1635.

" God knows, my lord, I am a distressed poor woman, and know not what to say more, than to beg upon my knees, with my homely prayers and tears, that it will please the Almighty to incline your lordship's heart to mildness towards him. For if your lordship continue my lord in restraint, and lay disgrace upon him, I have too much cause to fear your lordship will bring a speedy end to his life and troubles, and make me and all mine for ever miserable.

" Good, my lord, pardon these woeful lines of a disconsolate creature, and be pleased, for Christ Jesus' sake, to take this my humble suit into your favourable consideration, and to have mercy upon me and mine, and God will, I hope, reward it into the bosom of you and your sweet children by my kinswoman : and for the memory of her, I beseech your lordship to compassionate the distressed condition of me,

" Your Lordship's most humble and disconsolate

" Servant,

" JANE MOUNTNORRIS." *

This letter was preserved by Lord Clarendon, and is endorsed by him:

" A copy of Lady Mountnorris's letter to the Earl of Strafford, when her husband was in prison, under sentence of death by martial law ; and he was so hard-hearted as to give her no relief."

But here Clarendon is evidently in error. Even before the arrival of the commutation of the sentence of death, Mountnorris, on the third day of his imprisonment, was, on the certificate of the physicians, removed from Dublin Castle to imprisonment in his

* Clarendon's State Papers, i. 449.

own house.* And there is no reason to doubt that it was in compliance with this letter, which was in all probability sent with that of the physician's. 1635.

But he was equally in the power of the Lord-Deputy, who received authority from the King to release him entirely when he should have duly submitted and acknowledged his punishment to be just, and Wentworth should find it fit, "the honour of justice being preserved."†

On the security of 2000*l.*, advanced by the Lord Chief Justice,‡ Lord Mountnorris being "greatly afflicted both in body and mind," at his oppressions, "and on the oath of his physician that he was in peril of his life," was released, deprived of all his offices.

These offices Wentworth was most anxious to distribute as he wished, and for that purpose sent the sum, 6000*l.*, to his old acquaintance, Lord Cottington, to use as he thought most likely to forward his wishes.

Cottington easily understood him, and applied the money exactly to the purpose; how will be seen by his own account to Wentworth, which will also throw light on the readiness with which the King ratified the sacrifice of Mountnorris. His Majesty cleared 6000*l.* by it. Cottington thus accounts for the cash.

"When William Raylton first told me of your lordship's intention touching Mountnorris's place for Sir Adam Loftus, and the distribution of monies for the effecting thereof, I fell upon the right way, which was *to give the money to him that really could do the business, which was the King himself!* And this

* Letter of the Lord Deputy to Secretary Coke, i. 513.

† Secretary Coke to the Lord Deputy, i. 511.

‡ Rushworth, iii. 429.

1635. hath so far prevailed, as, by this post, your lordship will receive his Majesty's letter to that effect. So as there you have your business done without noise.

"And now it rests that the money be speedily paid and made over hither with all expedition.

"For the King hath already assigned it in part of twenty and two thousand pounds for land, which he hath bought in Scotland, payable by a privy seal out of the exchequer here, as William Raylton can tell you, and so the money shall be charged in the exchequer, the better to receive a discharge from the King in that behalf.

"Therefore, I beseech your lordship, let the money be made over with all expedition; for therein you shall free me of a troublesome importunity, and the King will be roundly satisfied." *

The King was roundly satisfied. He received the money, and Wentworth the power to dispose of the offices of Mountnorris. Sir Adam Loftus, a relation of the Lord Chancellor, in whose house the text of ruin was seized, and whose own son reported it first and swore to it afterwards, was made Vice-Treasurer, and Mountnorris's company of soldiers was given to Lord Caulfield, "at the recommendation" of the Lord Deputy. Thus ended the first portion of the drama of Mountnorris. The second was yet to come.

Deeper and deeper we see Wentworth sink in the mire of unscrupulous appropriation. Did a death occur, his first thought was of the vacant office, and how to make it profitable. If, as in the present case, it was settled on a successor beforehand, then some scheme must be managed to avoid the fulfilment of the bond. Was any offence given by some rich man,

* Lord Cottington to the Lord Deputy, i. 511.

pardon must be bought at some tremendous price, or punishment made to yield "a good round fine to the King." It is not to be wondered at, that seeing how eagerly he grasped at these, that the people thought it was for his own interest, and murmurs at his supposed rapidly increasing wealth were heard. But nothing could be more unjust than this charge. No ruler was ever more faithful to what he believed his master's interests than Lord Wentworth. To them he was wholly devoted, and would have utterly scorned anything like speculation, than which nothing could have been more easy. It was one of his boasts, that he did not come to Ireland, or enter the royal service to mend a shattered fortune or build a new one. He had no need of that. He had inherited a large paternal estate, and was indebted for his increase of income simply to the care and prudence with which he managed it. Indeed, had his time been left at his own entire disposal, had he never entered public life, he could easily have multiplied his riches to a much greater extent. As it was, all he gained from the advantages of his position, was by means common at the time, and which had been employed by the most honoured statesman among his predecessors. He joined in partnership with Sir George Radcliffe in farming the Irish Customs, and, of course, profited by the enormous increase in their annual returns; and as this increase was entirely owing to his own good management, he had even a greater claim than most to share the benefit. He also obtained the farm of the royal monopoly of tobacco, for which he paid a large price, and which proved profitable beyond his expectations. For this, too, he has been loudly blamed. But monopolies had also been long the order of the day, and

1635. though it is true that murmurs had, even in the reign of Elizabeth, been excited, it was rather at the abuse of monopolies, and the number that were held in one quarter, than at their existence. On the other hand, his private means of wealth, by means of agriculture, building, &c., were all of the utmost benefit to the community. He employed capital and labour in producing useful articles. Food, timber, wool, flourished and increased on his estates. But for one thing, especially, his name deserves to be remembered with gratitude. This was the establishment of the linen manufacture in Ireland.

He found that the soil was suited to the growth of flax, and quietly made the experiment of sowing a sufficient quantity of flax seed fairly to put it to the test. He found it succeed so well, that, at the end of the present year, he sent to Holland for a large supply, no longer as an experiment, but in order to produce material for manufacture. "I am very ambitious," he said, "to set up a trade of linen clothing in these parts, which, if God bless, so as to be effected, will, I daresay, be the greatest enriching to this kingdom that ever befel it. With this, as ever, he looked beyond the present, beyond his own private profit, and eagerly regarded it as a "business which may prove so beneficial to these subjects in future times." Most of his schemes for the good of Ireland died in their infancy, not from any inherent weakness in their constitution, or defect in their plan of education, but from the death of their parent, while they themselves were still too feeble to flourish alone, and found no guardian hand to protect and nourish them. But the cultivation of flax was destined to survive, to fulfil the prophecy, and perform the service destined by the

first sower in Ireland. Irish linen is now the most famous in the world for the beauty, fineness, and durability of its texture. Its whole history from the first grain of flax seed to its leaving the docks in the vessels for export is due to Lord Wentworth alone. He left nothing undone to give it every chance of prosperity, and spent no less than thirty thousand pounds in its foundation. 1638.

By the end of the year 1835, wonderful progress had been made in all things, and especially in the revenue. But the death of Richard Morris, the steward, had rendered new arrangements needful for Lord Wentworth's private property in England, and he now petitioned the King for leave of absence for two months.

At the new year he seems to have taken a short holiday, of which the only record is the following letter. Lady Wentworth had never reason to complain of his neglect in absence.

It is a thousand pities that we have no letters of hers remaining. They always seemed to have pleased her lord by their affection, and amused him by their timidity.

*The Lord Wentworth to his Wife.**

“ SWEET HEART.

“ There is now a conclusion of this weary business betwixt my brother and Mistress Ruishee, they are become man and wife. She hath left her own name and taken to herself ours: she is of a stranger become a sister unto me, and by a near conjunction, one of my

* From Lord Houghton's Collection, p. 9.

1636. family, and that shall be as well for herself as in both these respects very dear unto me. I have done all I promised to the full satisfaction of herself and friends, and contentment there is on all sides, and so I am very confident it shall, by God's grace, always be amongst us; there shall not want anything I can contribute unto it.

"We have here extreme good meat and drink, and it is a good house, and in a very fine part of the country. On Friday next, God willing, we come towards Dublin. In the mean space I shall in all my mirth remember you, and wish all health and happiness unto you; and when I see you, give you all the expressions which may show you that I am,

"Your very faithful loving husband,

"WENTWORTH.

"Castle Jurdan, this 18th of Janua."

The request to visit England was at once granted, but such was the accumulation of daily work, that though no new or definite change was awaited, requiring the personal attention of the Lord Deputy, he found, after repeated delays, that it was impossible for him to leave before the following June.

The first part of 1636 was consumed in carrying out the details of former plans. Much time was taken up in tedious correspondence with England, concerning the complaints of the landholders of Galway, who quitted Ireland secretly, and in the face of the law, in order to appeal to the King. Lord Wentworth was kept in a constant state of irritation by the fear of his efforts being spoiled through the compliance with their petitions—a fear which, notwithstanding the promises

and protestations of his Majesty, was in more than 1636.
one case realised. It may be, that royalty could stoop to secret bribes from more persons than one. Another trouble lay in the incessant and irresistible temptation presented by the rapid increase of the contents of the Irish treasury. Charles could not keep his hand out. It was in vain that Wentworth begged him only to wait till the Crown debts were paid, and a certain revenue, and good credit established, when he assured the King he should be well rewarded by treasure from Ireland, and that Galway would repay all expenses now incurred, with heavy interest, to England. The fact of ready money was too dazzling, and debts incurred had to be paid, and promises made in England to be fulfilled in Ireland. One especially, said to be contracted long before at Rhé, to Sir Archibald Atchysen, and now sent to Wentworth for payment, excited his bitter mortification.

“ My duty,” he declared, “ still emboldens me to write that such transposition of debts as these, if it may be given them, will, in conclusion, utterly disappoint all his Majesty’s ordinary payments, and return empty into our bosoms all the labours of us here, for paying the debts of this Crown, and raising a standing, certain revenue to answer the constant annual payments. And great pity it were the consideration of any one man, in an unusual, and under favour, an improper way, should overthrow so excellent a work, which I am persuaded would give great contentment to his Majesty in itself, and operate, too, with much advantage by way of example, it may be, upon the exchequer of England.” *

* The Lord Deputy to Mr. Secretary Coke, i. 494.

1636. And, again, to the King himself, he says remonstratingly :—

“ Ten thousand pounds to my Lord of Nethisdale strikes deep into this exchequer, yet it shall be paid as your Majesty appoints.

“ I do, nevertheless, most humbly supplicate your Majesty, that no more of this kind be fetched forth of your subsidies, till the debts of the Crown be discharged, and a standing revenue raised whence to supply your ordinary payments. For, howbeit, ten thousand pounds is a contemptible sum in the exchequer of England ; indeed, sir, it is not so on this side where the coming-in are so straight, but the issue so large.”

He then pointed out to the King a truth which that monarch never could comprehend, viz., the importance of keeping his promises. For, in this, Wentworth set a perfect example. His promise was sure to be fulfilled. And it was miserable to him to find the money he had set aside to pay just debts which he had himself contracted, now demanded for others, or perhaps as rewards for services of which he knew not the name. Charles was no more able to comprehend the following style of reasoning than an infant :—

“ Besides, the great assurances given in Parliament that every man should be honourably paid, and the overplus applied for purchasing revenue, to enable the Crown to keep hereafter even with the ordinary and public payments, was the great arguments by which we drew them to so great and cheerful a gift. So that if they be not therein performed with, they will hold themselves altogether abused ; we, your Majesty’s ministers here, utterly lose our credit amongst them,

even to infamy, and these supplies be found to come from them heavily and scouted in the future." 1636.

It was, indeed, trying. By every effort, Wentworth was doing his best to place matters on a sound financial basis, and on all sides he found devourers waiting and eager. By fishing licences, patents for pipe staves—by allowing nothing to be considered too small for profit, he brought in large sums from innumerable quarters, and the consequence seemed likely that Ireland was to be regarded as a source to supply the private deficiencies of England, regardless of her own necessities.

At the present time, too, among the petitioners against Lord Wentworth in the matter of the disputed titles of Galway, were Lord Tunbridge, the son of the Earl of St. Alban's, and Lord Wilmot, who had just sold lands for four thousand two hundred pounds sterling,* which were declared by the royal commissioners to belong to the King, and which therefore involved his returning the money to the purchasers and their returning the estates, only not to the seller, but to the King. Most obnoxious of all, were three men, whom Wentworth declared to be agents of the priests, and whom he, therefore, spoke of as "the three agents of Galway," who were now uttering their complaints, not only to the King, of whom they had obtained an audience, but wherever they could find listeners in England. Thus, at this moment, there was, as it were, an organised party, whose interest it was to blacken the name of Wentworth in England. In the north, there were too many Catholic recusants still smarting under his fines as Lord President, not to join heartily with their brethren in religion, while he was deprived

* The Lord Deputy to Secretary Coke, i., 496.

1636. of all chance of defence from the Puritans, on account of his political opinions and his close friendship with and supposed approbation of the detested cruelty and tyranny of Laud.

He himself was quite awake to the mischief. The very audience granted by the King to the petitioners seemed like distrust of him. His own plan for dealing with the agents of Galway was for the King to send them back to Ireland as prisoners, and leave them to the disposition of himself and the Commissioners of Titles. "In truth," he exclaimed, "I conceive this course of public agency is most indecent and uncomely, and which hath been in all times the occasion of mighty disservices to the Crown there, and of excessive prejudice and disquiet to the subject and State here, and therefore to be taken up so by the roots, as never to bring forth those bitter fruits hereafter, which I am verily persuaded we shall effect, if it be committed to our care and examination. Besides, the bringing in of round and considerable fines by censures in the Castle chamber, not alone upon the agents but upon the other confederates, which are neither few nor of low condition, I will awarrant you."*

Alas! the miserable condition of the writer is too painfully revealed by the last sentence. All his incessant labours, his heavy sacrifices, his dreadful sufferings, the loss of all love and esteem from his countrymen—all that he had borne and accomplished to render the King "the most powerful prince in Europe" in Ireland, had not been able to bind the King to his promise, or win from him the faintest shadow of sympathy with the sensitiveness of his servant.

* The Lord-Deputy to Secretary Coke, i., 494.

Wentworth had dreaded nothing so much as a constant succession of reports from Ireland, carried secretly to the ear of the King. Before he undertook his office, he had expressly stipulated that no man should be allowed to quit Ireland without his permission; no man appeal to another Court against his justice, until they had given him a chance of rectification. This had been solemnly granted him, and, like all else, had been recklessly broken. Charles listened in person to complaints against Wentworth, not from any love of justice, but from motives profitable (as he imagined) to himself, while the very act of listening was a breach of his word and an injury to Wentworth's credit. Charles sent him word that it should do him no harm; that he would not set aside his decision, &c. &c. The "round fine" that was first used to swell the treasury only, was now put forward to make it more profitable for the King to send back the complainants, than to listen to their appeal. Wentworth had recourse to money to supply the place of the royal promise.

In the present instance, the £6000 conveniently arrived to Lord Cottington, who, having disposed of them, as we have mentioned, before the agents of Galway had received an answer, two of them were ordered at once to return to the Lord Deputy, and the other retained "for some particular service," while Tunbridge and Wilmot equally failed.

If the attention of two queens could compensate for the neglect of a single king, Wentworth might have been consoled during this trying year. Henrietta Maria, hearing a false report that he had sunk beneath one of his attacks of illness, protested that the King had lost a brave and faithful servant, and one whom

1636. she loved, valued, and esteemed. And Elizabeth, Queen Dowager of Bohemia, who maintained a pleasant little correspondence with him, wrote expressing her confidence in his great worth and affection to the King, her dear brother, and telling him he could express friendship to none who was more thankful for it than herself, who had ever esteemed him, &c. &c.

The reports of Lord Wentworth's approaching visit to England stirred the hearts of many. Poor Lady Mountnorris, dreading the effects of a personal meeting between him and the King; did her best to prevent any further ill. Clad in black, with long veils sweeping the ground, she and her six daughters, in sad procession, besought the Queen to be a suitor for her unfortunate husband, who was still detained in Ireland, and begged that he might be allowed to cross the Channel and plead his cause, and prove his innocence of evil. Her efforts were frustrated by her husband himself. He had been offered liberty on condition of his acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and receiving with submission the pardon of the King. With a noble spirit of self-respect, that has more weight than any amount of argument, he declined the terms. The consequence was a warrant from the King to the Lord Deputy to seize his papers and examine them in the presence of four of the Privy Council and some witnesses of his own, with power to take possession of any that might be thought necessary. His "ill-carriage" and "neglect of the King's grace" were the pretexts assigned.*

The enemies of Wentworth hastened to make the best of the short time remaining to crowd around the

King, who was not difficult of access, and utter every tale of ill report, while his few friends took the opposite ground of refutation, and told the King how hard they considered the case of Lord Wentworth, that men could thus presume to speak such falsehoods against him. But, they added, his comfort was having a just master, that could discern each man's services, and knowing this he would never "stick," where that master's honour and benefit were interested, to play the part of a faithful servant. 1638.

Charles replied that "envy and spleen follow often upon such as study my service. But that is no matter; I know him to be an honest man and a faithful servant to me."*

More than that, he knew that Wentworth had so bound himself to his service, so severed himself from all besides, that rewards were not needed to retain him, and might be spared for more mercenary followers. Everything was carefully reported to Wentworth; the tales of his enemies, the defence of his friends, and the words of the King, so that on his arrival he might know the exact ground on which he stood.

"I trust," he said to a friend, "you shall see with how much care I shall wipe off all stains from my garment. Envy and infirmities I shall acknowledge as much as any man. I find too strong testimonies within myself thereof to deny it abroad. But, for crimes and falsehoods, I do defy all the world, and will, with confidence, make it appear the charge to be most foolish and most malicious."†

* Letter of Lord Nithsdale to the Lord-Deputy, ii., 5.

† Letter to Captain Price. State Papers, Ireland. MS.

1636.

Did he then think his conduct to Mountnorris was no crime? So marvellous are the self-delusions of human nature, that even this is possible! It is only those souls whose highest aim is obedience to every moral law—who look on all worldly advantage as dust and ashes compared with spiritual progress, even if bought by suffering—that are sensitive on such points, and do not confound their sins with virtues, or pass them over in indifference and unconsciousness. This lack of *moral* sensitiveness it was that was the terrible deficiency in Lord Wentworth. Far before the majority of mankind in so much, in this, he was even below many a simple mind that has passed unnoticed through the world.

By the month of May, he was ready to sail for England, but for three weeks he was detained by the easterly winds, and when they ceased, by what was perhaps caused by them—one of his worst attacks of illness. “Blow which way it list,” he said, “I shall not be able to stir these ten days. This fit hath brought me very low, and was unto me a torment for three days and three nights, above all I ever endured since I was a man. A few of these will free me from the toils of this life, and a great many from the trouble they put themselves unto.”

His last act before leaving Ireland was, while waiting for a west wind, to give a side stroke to the Roman Catholics.

The Protestant clergy had sent to him a petition setting forth various abuses, and amongst other requests, they begged that Popish schoolmasters might be suppressed, that inquiry should be made by fit commissioners into the abuses of free schools, with a view to reform them. They complained of the frequent

burials in abbeys as an occasion of showing contempt and neglect towards the parish churches; and prejudicial to the clergy (thereby deprived of the fees), and this they prayed might be restricted by the State. Wentworth heartily entered into the spirit of this petition; none the less, we may be sure, that he had not forgotten the trouble he had received from the priests in Galway and their three agents, at present under arrest. He sent the petition, therefore, to Archbishop Usher, desiring him to pay the utmost attention to it, as well as to some other matters that he would leave to his care during his own absence in England, and for which he gave him full authority. These were to correct the abuses in the public schools, which required great reformation, and to remove from them all Popish superiors. 1636.

Lord Wentworth then pointed out, as matters to be at once altered, the general non-residence of the clergy, who, as yet, were very inattentive to former orders. Usher was to cause all who were found living idly in Dublin or other cities on their farms, at once to repair to their parish churches; and if they disobeyed, the archbishop was to sequester their livings for one year; and if that did not produce obedience, then they were to be deprived altogether. For any absolutely needful business in the city, they had permission to remain just long enough to transact it, but no longer. And lest Usher himself should fail in his unpleasant duty, he was informed that, immediately on his return to Ireland, the Lord Deputy would rigidly examine into the manner he had exercised his appointed office.

Wentworth spoke always of Usher as a good and learned man, but as one whom it was necessary to

1636. frighten a little. Hence the stern tone of these directions.

At length wind, wave, and health were sufficiently propitious, and Lord Wentworth, his mind charged with heavy anxieties, sailed from Dublin.

CHAPTER XVI.

AFTER a prosperous voyage, Lord Wentworth arrived in England, from which he had now been absent nearly three years. This time, no pirates hovered around his vessel, which held her course as peacefully across the Channel as to make it seem almost incredible that little more than two years before, on a similar journey, the very same august traveller had been boldly plundered by the same men to whom his very name was now a source of terror. Indeed, this quiet return was a triumphal entry of the noblest kind. The seas that he governed had become safer than the King's highway, though all in England seemed in the same wretched condition as before. 1636.

He was received in London by the King with every mark of honour, and such proofs of favour and approbation as to revive his spirits and awaken his former confidence once more. As his enemies had diligently spread reports that he was out of favour with the King, this visible testimony to the stability of his influence was most welcome to him, and he hastened to make it known in Ireland, where the withholding of all new titles of honour from him by the King had led that impressionable race readily to believe the omission to be a mark of coldness and disapprobation. This Wentworth had keenly felt. But now he once more

1636. cherished the hope that all such errors would be swept away, and he should return invested with new dignities. "Such hath been his Majesty's usage of me," he said, "as I am believed to be of more credit and far more consideration than I take myself to be. Yet I do believe it to be such as will bring me a great deal of peace in my future employment on that side." How these hopes were realised we shall soon see.

His absence from home enables us to follow him in his hours of relaxation, and look over his shoulder while he pens the most delightful of his letters—those to his wife.

*Lord Wentworth to his Wife.**

"SWEET HEART,

"It will not amiss be unto you to hear of my well being thus far onwards. I came hither in good health, with all our company; have been very well looked upon both by the King, Queen, and all the Court; am hasting on towards a dispatch of my business, that so I may be the sooner back with you.

"Let Will, Nan, and Arabella excuse me; for, in good faith, I am so infinitely pestered with company, that I have not time to write unto them. But God Almighty bless them, and send you all health, so prays

"Your most loving husband,

"WENTWORTH.

"*This 16th of June,*

"LONDON, 1636.

"There died this week of the plague fourscore, being four more than died the week before."

* Lord Houghton's Collection, p. 11.

*Lord Wentworth to his Wife.**1636.

“SWEET HEART,

“This is in answer of yours of the 13th of June. This is the fourth letter I have written to you, and yet, it seems, you have not heard of the three former, which is strange; nor yet doth your letter of the 18th of this present, which I received by Mr. Monk, mention the receipt of any one of them, which is yet stranger. I trust this shall present itself to you with more speed.

“You may be sure I shall hasten back to Dublin all I may; and certainly, by the help of God, I shall be there as soon as I promised. But, think as you may, these scrambling journeys neither had been, nor will be, fit for women. However, I think it not probable I shall myself take any more of them; I have myself enough of this already, so much as not to desire another of them in haste.

“My Lady Tyrconnell’s prayers and mine are of a differing faith, yet if she mean them me heartily, I shall thank her ladyship for them; howbeit, the favours I can do are little considerable to her or anybody else, which yet will add to her charity; for that love is perfect indeed which is without ends inwards towards a body’s self.

“I conceive you might bring an ill custom upon yourself to give presents to your god-daughters, and therefore conceive it best to forbear it in the case of Sir Robert Meredith, and being well begun towards him, it will be well followed in all other folks’ cases. Your charity to my Lady Branstone I commend. I am glad that yourself and children are so well, nor need

* Lord Houghton’s Collection, p. 12.

1636. you apprehend the letter can be thought long by me that brings me so good news from any one of you.

“I have remembered you to all your friends, and so fully answered this long letter of yours, as you term it; yet, if I do not forget myself towards the conclusion, will do more for this letter than your ladyship did for yours, which is to sign it with my name. But the matter was not great, I knew the hand to be yours, albeit you put no name unto it.

“Now I go on to yours of the 18th of this month. My picture in great you have, and one in little if I can possibly procure it; but Mr. Hawkins hath so much work as I fear he will not have time to spare. I have promised one to another uniform on this side, and have courted the gentleman, and yet cannot get his promise for that; however, if possibly I can, you shall have one. I shall speak with Will Raylson concerning the motto you mention; and as for your poetry, it will come to no great effect: your wits lie a graver way than sorts with the mating of verses. I should think Sir Lorenzo Cane’s (Cary’s?) fancy should lie better that way: there is a great skill to apt a man’s self for that he finds nature inclines him to. That’s wisely and weightily expressed now—is it not? You meet with many such in Mr. Braithwaite’s letter.

“And here, in the last place, will follow a little of my own voluntary, after I have thus answered both your letters.

“It is likely to be a match betwixt Mr. Dillon and my sister; so, as I now send to my Lord Justice Wandesforde to perfect that which is to be done at Dublin, and that returned, I shall give them leave to proceed as it shall please God and themselves. It is like, also, to be a match (howbeit, not upon so good an

agreement) betwixt Sir Piers Crosby and myself in the Star Chamber, if I could but know where to have him to serve him with a subpoena; but I trust, before it be long, we shall meet, and, at after, agree like dogs and cats. 1636.

“It is more than likely, for it is so in very deed, that his Majesty is pleased to use me passing graciously, so as in that relation which is the principal, I stand in as good a condition as I can desire myself. The Custom House business is settled. The Cardinal Infanta is marched away into France, with an army of twenty thousand horse, and foot without number. Galla, the Emperor’s general, is to follow after him. The great Cardinal in France is, as they say, in some disorder with his master.

The French masters of the field in the Duchy of Milan. The Duke of Lorraine is with his army to join the Spaniards. My Lord of Arundel is at Ratisbon; hath not yet spoken with the Emperor; hath had a most miserable and hugely expensive journey. And as for me, I dine this very day with his lady at Barque Hall; and her ladyship, to boot, tells me I am a passing wise man, which is enough for me.

“But what’s all this to you wenches—what’s all this to you? Show it to the Master of the Rolls, his lordship, and see what he can make of it, which saves me the labour of writing it over twice. And thus I will do more for you in this than you did for me in one of yours—not only write myself, but sign myself

“Your loving husband,

“WENTWORTH.

“LONDON, *this 29th of June, 1636.*

1636. "The plague decreased the last week a full fourth part from the former week."

He now hastened to give an account of his stewardship in Ireland. This he did by first describing the state of the country as he found it, and then pointing out the present condition. He showed what improvements he had worked in the Church, the army, the revenue, the laws, and the administration of justice.

He then repeated the long string of evils which he knew had been ascribed to him, and gave his answers to these.

When he had finished, the King was so satisfied, that he told him he considered it would be for his own honour, and a means to sharpen the edge of other men's endeavours in his service, for the whole to be a second time recounted, and then before the whole of the Lords in full council assembled.

To this Wentworth of course assented; but, in order that the King might not be wearied with the repetition, he begged him to be absent. But the King paid him the high compliment of saying that it was worthy to be heard twice, and that he was resolved to be present.

The Council was then summoned, and Lord Wentworth rose. He told them how willingly he came there to relate the progress of his government, so that they might give him the benefit of their wisdom and experience; and, by pointing out to him where he had been in error, enable him to do better for the future.

The miserable condition of affairs in Ireland at his arrival were only known to the Council by his own report—a report there were many interested in contradicting, especially the high officials and the clergy,

whose criminal supineness had so largely contributed to the evil. Also, to realise such a state in its true proportions, it needed to live in the country for a time. Consequently, the Lord-Deputy must have felt how really hopeless it was to expect his work to be appreciated in its real extent. But there was one test by which it is the custom to measure prosperity, and that is money. If a man, or a nation, from being poor and in debt becomes rich, clears off debts, and has still new plans for new riches, there must be good management. Money is a solid fact, that can by no amount of logic be reasoned into a shadow. Before Lord Wentworth's time, the idea of going to Ireland for an example in the management of money would have been ludicrous indeed. It was so no longer. Before the astonished eyes of the English Council, the Lord-Deputy was enabled to lay the following details of his success in the management of the revenue. It must not be forgotten that he found Ireland a constant source of expense to England, unable to support herself or to protect herself, and nearly a hundred thousand pounds in debt.

In three years, the following changes were made:—

The Lord-Deputy's note of the Particulars wherein his Majesty's Revenue in Ireland is increased since his employment there.

	£	s.	d.
Upon the Commission of Defective Titles	500	0	0
Licenses to keep Ale Houses, settled by Act of Parliament	3000	0	0
Licenses for Transportation of Pipe Staves	1500	0	0
The Manor, Lands, and Rectory of Athlone, to be restored by the Lord Wilmot	500	0	0
The Casual Revenue increased	2000	0	0
Found in Connaught an over number of Quarters of Land, which formerly ought and must now pay Composition Rent as much as one pound five shillings a quarter comes to	500	0	0
Five-eighths of the Farm of the Customs of Ireland will be, if the peace continue, at least	100,000	0	0
Sum total	180,000	0	0

1636. Here was a clear sum of £180,000 in three years. The English Council was not likely to be more curious and scrupulous as to the exact justice and honesty of certain of the items than the King had been. It would have been too much trouble, letting alone the danger. For instance, what a world of bitter feelings was rolled up in the very first line! The commissioners, whose mere appointment was thus a source of profit, what were they but mere messengers to juries, to tell them to find certain verdicts under all circumstances? Large tracts of land, including whole counties, had been declared the property of the King, and as these decisions had been made by juries, according to English law, it seemed to have been settled after due consideration, and by a fair verdict. But then the King only abided by the verdict when it was in his favour, and we have seen what were the consequences of an adverse opinion in Galway. And it was in Galway that the estate forming the fourth item was found, and had been pronounced by the jury *not* to belong to the King. Yet here it unblushingly presented itself! To decide the question legally and justly is here impossible. All we can do is, to turn to the fact that the King appealed to the law about the province of Connaught, and that the law decided in his favour in one case, and against him in another; and that in the first he acquiesced, in the second he refused and punished the jurors. Juries were then no more immaculate bodies of men than now, and often arrived at verdicts which were the very licences of wrong. But they are the only guide for those who do not care to go through volumes of conflicting evidence and judge for themselves.

It will be well to bear these things in mind in judging of the vast increase of the revenue. Ample opportunity there was to raise it by the most honourable

means—such means as were in themselves a blessing to the country, independently of the result. And it is due to Lord Wentworth to acknowledge that he fully employed these means ; as, for example, the enormous increase of the amount of the Customs was owing to the safety with which merchants could now carry their goods across the Channel without fear of pirates. To guard the seas gave honest employment to deserving men, as well as proved profitable to the Government. And it was Lord Wentworth's great merit never to neglect honest means. But it was his misfortune that he never could rest content with these alone. His boundless ambition could not bear those limits which fastidious honour refuses to pass. What was possible was his law ; there must be no Alps in his course. 1636.

The Irish Deputies who had preceded him had gone to the other extreme in lack of vigour, while they had not so distinguished themselves by regard to popular rights, as to rest their failures on fine principles. Lack of ability, much more than scrupulousness, caused their deficiencies. Lord Wentworth possessed ability, which he used without scruple ; and the result was, present increase of worldly wealth.

He told the English Council, truly, that before he went the Irish Council had declared it impossible for the voluntary contributions to be any longer continued : with ease, he had obtained them for two years more.

When he came, he found an enormous and increasing debt, which he had not only discharged, but all that had been since incurred, to such an amount that by next Candlemas not less than £1,000,000 would have been paid away.

He found the Exchequer one of paper more than treasure—every shilling due to it being paid away long before it was received, and assignments filling the

1636. place. Now the rents were orderly and justly brought in ; the martial and Civil List duly provided for ; every man received his money on the day it was due in civilised order, "not scrambling one before another, without so much as giving thanks."

When he arrived, the Lords-Justices and Council certified to him that the expenditure exceeded the receipts by £24,000 sterling a-year.* And, in their despair, they could suggest no other means of making up the deficiency than by strictly exacting the obnoxious fine of twelvepence every Sunday of the Catholics for absence from the Protestant churches. But this fine was held to be unreasonable, uncertain, and—if regarded from the proper point, which was to bring the people to a conformity of religion—a failure. It did not convert the people ; and, therefore, he would not levy it for the sake of the money it brought. Yet he found means, not merely to bring the income up to the expenditure, but to make it exceed it by £8500 a-year. And over and above all this, there was £46,000 in the Treasury, which he proposed to spend in the purchase of annuities of the value of £9450.

And, besides these positive possessions, he had drawn up the following plans, by which £18,000 might be saved and £51,500 gained. And, after all, there would be left £60,000 above all charges.

He then laid on the table the following proposals—proposals at which we may be sure the eyes of the King glistened as much as their usually cold expression would allow :—

"Other particulars whereupon the Committee of the Revenue advises the raising of a Revenue by purchasing them into the Crown, for which there will be money spared forth of the subsidies."

* These accounts of the Lords Justices vary, probably owing to the looseness with which they were kept.

	£	s.	d.	1636.
The License of Yarn to Mr. West	1400	0	0	<u>1636.</u>
The License of Wine and Aqua Vitæ, which is in the Assignees of the late Earl of Carlisle	1000	0	0	
The Lease of the Import of Wines now in the Countess of Carlisle	2000	0	0	
The Lady Duchess of Buckingham's rent, forth of the Customs	4550	0	0	
Sum total of these	8950	0	0	

"Particulars whereupon I conceive your Majesty's Revenue may be yet further increased.

	£	s.	d.
Upon the Plantations, if rightly disposed including the territory of the Byrnes	20,000	0	0
Londonderry	5000	0	0
Court of Wards will improve by reason of the new statutes of Wills and Uses	4000	0	0
To be raised upon the Commission of Defective Titles	4500	0	0
For the Pre-emption and Licenses of Tobacco	8000	0	0
Salt, if Peace with France	10,000	0	0
Sum total	51,500	0	0

To be saved what is now spent.

	£	s.	d.
Forth of the Army, according as I have shown your Majesty	15,000	0	0
By Victualling and Furnishing the ships for guarding the Irish Coast as appears by my proposition	3000	0	0
Total	18,000	0	0

So the total of all Improvements and Savings comes to £96,450 0 0

Besides, this Crown eased of seven thousand pounds, charge for the shipping appointed to the guard of that coast; and powder for the service of that kingdom, which stood his Majesty in £500 per annum.

If your Majesty be pleased to lay this paper by you, within a few years it will appear whether I be deceived in my opinion of these your affairs, which indeed I trust will be in that time effected."

In conclusion, he most earnestly begged that no moneys might be called from Ireland into England until he had completed his work of establishing the revenue; that no advantage might be taken of the

1636. details he. had given, by granting any special suit founded on them ; that the exchequer might never be allowed to contain less than £20,000 to meet with any sudden call that might be made ; and that the money might not be drawn from Ireland in specie, but set upon them by assignments, which should be punctually complied with by those who were to receive the money upon them.

He then turned to the subject of the army.

The condition in which he found it has already been described. The soldiers were literally a curse to the country. All this was now completely changed : the men were well armed, well clad, well exercised, and, what they had never been before, well paid. To the reformation of the army he had given the most untiring care. What before had been a ragged crowd of undisciplined thieves, was now a compact body of well-drilled and orderly troops. Where other commanders—who had held their office longer than Lord Wentworth, and were free from so many of his additional labours—had been content with the bare reports of the officers, and had not so much as visited a single company, he reviewed the whole in person. And this not merely by letting the men march past him in their best clothes ; but he had gone in person to the different camps, and examined the barracks, and made himself acquainted with the habits of the soldiers and their behaviour to the people in the different places where they were quartered. The consequence was, that where previously the soldiers “were an abomination to the inhabitants,” they “were now welcome in every place.” In the removes and marches, they paid justly for what they took, and passed along with civility and moderation, as other subjects, without burdens to

the country through which they went ; where formerly they “took the victuals and paid nothing, as if it had been in an enemy’s country.” 1636.

By this wonderful change, it might with perfect truth be said that the army had doubled its former strength, irrespective of any increase of numbers. It was now worthy the King’s entertainments, and when it was reviewed would appear with a company of gallant gentlemen, their officers, fit to serve a great and wise monarch. Hitherto, it had been exactly the reverse.

Wentworth himself had given the initiative. He said he thought it did not become him to represent so great a Majesty meanly in the sight of the people. He had, therefore, not grudged to expend £6000 of his own private means to furnish his own troop of horse ; and he could now, at an hour’s warning, put himself on horseback and, in spite of all opposition, deliver a letter at any part of the kingdom. Thus his men saw that he exacted nothing of his captains that he was not able and ready to perform himself.

He then stated that, notwithstanding all this, the army still required reinforcement, and yet better arming. It was of absolute necessity to the Irish government, an excellent minister and assistant in the execution of all the King’s writs ; the great peace-maker between the British and the natives, between the Protestant and the Papist ; and the chief securer, under God and his Majesty, of the future and past plantations.

He then placed before his hearers the alteration for the better in the administration of public justice in Ireland. Justice, he said, was now dispensed without regard to persons. The poor knew now where to seek for relief, and were not afraid to apply for justice against the greatest subject in the kingdom. Great

1636. men were now forced to keep themselves within reasonable bounds, though in Ireland they were as tyrannical and greedy as in any place in this world. The same justice that was a gift to the poor, was a restraint to the rich.

The judges themselves were not now to be tormented into anything by importunity ; they were never so much esteemed by the subject ; yet they held themselves in due subordination to the Crown, ministering wholly to uphold the sovereignty, carrying a direct aspect upon the prerogatives of his Majesty, *without squinting aside upon the vulgar and vain opinions of the populace.*

This was most painfully true. On the whole, justice was better and more uniformly administered. The poor were not only protected from the injustice of the rich, they were placed in the condition of children. It was really the rich who had to complain of injustice : nothing was to be gained by wronging the poor ; but ever with a rich delinquent was the temptation of "a good round fine for his Majesty." In the administration of justice, Wentworth might justly praise the judges for indifference to popular opinion, could he have done so for indifference to that of any man, so long as they discharged their duty. Unfortunately, they were expected not to "squint aside," but implicitly obey the opinion of the King.

With this most terrible defect, therefore, it is impossible fully to ratify his conclusions on the state of the bench in Ireland.

He then pointed out how great had been the advantage of introducing the English laws into Ireland, and most especially the statutes of wills and uses. These he called the two pillars of the Court of Wards. Here

he was able to bring forward a very convincing proof of their advantage to a Protestant kingdom. Formerly one of the most important men in the kingdom would have been a ward of the priests, bred up abroad, his wealth devoted to the Roman Catholic interest, and he himself returned a bigoted enemy of England. But he now pointed to the young Earl of Ormond. Owing to the change of laws, this young gentleman was a ward in Chancery. He had thus been bred a Protestant and loyal subject, and was likely to prove a great and able servant of the Crown. Moreover, the advantage did not end here, for the retainers of Protestants were likely to become Protestants also, "it being most certain that no people under the sun are more apt to be of the same religion with their great lords as the Irish be." 1638.

To the wonderful improvement of trade he could most proudly point ; and here, as in the army, we can follow him without reservation. The coastguard had been one of the most miserable of farces. Pirates had landed and perpetrated their plunder unchecked on land and sea. The vessels appointed to guard the Channel were so badly manned and paid, that they never reached the scene of disaster till after the mischief was done and the thieves escaped. Now, the sentinel ships were ever at their post, five or six pirates of Biscay and a great privateer captured, and so much terror inspired that not a merchant had been lost since Lord Wentworth's arrival. Piracy and plunder in the Channel were at an end. The consequence had rapidly told on trade. The Irish exports were now, at least, a third greater than their imports, a sure sign that Ireland was outstripping her neighbours.

In 1633, there was little or no manufacture—nothing

1636. but an attempt at the clothing trade. This, the Deputy stated to his hearers, that, unless otherwise ordered, he intended to discourage by all means in his power, because it would injure the same branch of manufacture in England. Woollen cloth was the great staple of England. But, as a compensation for the injury inflicted on Ireland by forbidding the natives to use their own wool, he had introduced the linen trade. He found the women took to spinning naturally, as the soil took to the flax. He had this very year spent £1000 on flax-seed, for which he had sent to Holland, in order to have the best. He had sent to the Netherlands and the South of France for workmen, and had already set up six or seven looms. He trusted that when others saw the great advantages and profits attached to this, they would follow his example and employ themselves in the same way. If they did, he was confident it would prove a mighty business, considering that, in all probability, they would be able to undersell France and Holland by twenty per cent. And, concluding his remarks on trade in general, he earnestly pressed the wise counsel that no act of hostility should, under any circumstances, be allowed towards the merchants or their goods in St. George's Channel, which should be preserved and privileged as the greatest of his Majesty's ports, in the same manner that the Venetians preserved their Gulf, and the King of Denmark his Sound; and that it might thus be remembered and provided for in all treaties with foreign princes.●

He then spoke a few pleading words for the Irish themselves. He reminded his hearers that the Irish were a growing people, who would increase beyond all expectation, if they were now a little favoured in this their first spring, and not discouraged by harder usage

than either English or Scotch found. But, at present, this was not the case. Exceptionally high duties, quite equal to what were charged to the French, were laid on coals, horses, and live cattle from England to Ireland. He pointed out how great a discouragement this would be to all intending settlers in Ireland, when they found that they would thus be treated as foreigners. Besides, it would be a great injury to trade. 1636.

It may be allowed that, notwithstanding the defects and drawbacks so plainly visible, that no man, in so short a period, ever effected so wonderful a change, considering the means at his disposal. When we contemplate the vast benefits that, in spite of every ill, must spring from the domination of such a mind, such as one of no smaller capacity and foresight could confer—still, still, does the pain and sorrow press upon us that all had to be forfeited through the miserable evils lodged, as by a mournful destiny, in the same nature. If ever the old fable was realised of the gifts of the good spirits being marred by the malignity of the evil ones, it was in Lord Wentworth. That an intellect so remarkable for its power of looking on all sides, of such far-reaching foresight, should yet have been blind to the fatal limitations placed to all things by the assertion of absolute, irresponsible power, is a mystery. Already, Wentworth had had repeated proof of the capacity of Charles to ruin his best successes; already he had been forced to deprecate the meddling hand which threatened to break and entangle the finely-spun web; and, yet, he persisted in advocating absolute power to the spoiler. We speak here, not of conscience, but of mere common sense. Even had Charles been perfect, unless he could ensure that perfection to his successor, how long was the permanent

1636. revenue of Ireland likely to last? What, for instance, would have become of all the gathered treasure had Wentworth lived to work at nothing else but Ireland till the accession of Charles II.? And to this he was blind.

When he had finished the recapitulation of the progress in Ireland, he was careful to disclaim the taking the whole of the credit. He acknowledged how much he had been helped by the Irish Committee in England, and especially by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He also said how great had been the advantage to him of the secrecy with which his plans had been kept. Most earnestly, he begged this same secrecy might still be maintained; it was, he said, "the very life of all counsel," and a great instrument whereby to effect any designs his Majesty might affect should be done there for his service or his contentment.

Now came a more painful subject—one which the King and his own friends would gladly have had him avoid, but which his feelings were too human to omit. He craved permission to justify himself in some particulars wherein he had been "very undeservedly and bloodily traduced," he said.

He then went over the stories relating to the Earl of St. Albans, Lord Wilmot, Lord Mountnorris, Piers Crosby, and the jury of Galway.

There is no reason to suppose that he misrepresented them, or painted them in other colours than those in which they have been already given to the reader. For the details have been in all cases based on his own accounts, with such additions from other sources as do not contradict his testimony. Indeed, the extraordinary feature in these cases is, that he appears so utterly insensible to their injustice and cruelty. He relates them without

any perception of their real bearing, and proceeds to argue and generalise as if the facts were about the opposite to the reality. This same defect in moral logic is observable all through his career. The keenness of perception, the power of discerning the close connection between cause and effect, that was so remarkable in matters of business and material objects, seemed utterly to desert him the moment he approached the dominion of the soul. He ruled neither by reverence nor cunning. Fear and Force were the ministers that followed in his wake. He did not stoop to tempt men by their interests. He rather forced them to follow them, by giving his commands, and afterwards amply rewarding their obedience. But bribes were never offered. His profound contempt for human nature in general, prevented him from appealing to such feelings as duty and honour. He was the best judge of what was right. He asked only what he gave. The King must be absolute, and to the King he yielded all things; from the King he endured what to him was hardest to bear. As the representative of the King, all in Ireland were bound to obey him. He was always careful to maintain this position. As an individual he was nothing—a mere shadow of royalty. As such, though he was forced to recount his own deeds, yet he took no credit for the best of them. If in all that he had accomplished there was any cause for praise, he said he laid no claim to it beyond the glory of obedience. He said he had been as a dead instrument in the hand of his Majesty, without motion or effect, further than as he had been guided and informed by his direction and wisdom in the course of his employment. What wisdom Charles had shown in the management of Ireland, it is rather difficult to see. On the contrary,

1638. whenever he went against the wishes of Wentworth, he simply placed an obstacle in his own path.

It may be said, that in ascribing such marvels to the King, Wentworth simply followed the fashion of the day, which thought nothing too exaggerated in speaking of royalty. But there is this difference between him and most of the courtiers. They simply followed a degrading custom, knowing it to be hollow, and using it as a tool for their own purposes, and were quite capable of uttering a far different language in private. Thus, the "sweet young prince and the resplendent princess, children of his most blessed Majesty, King James," in public—could be transformed into "the old manne and his cubbes," in the ears of safe listeners. But Wentworth was literally sincere. To his own nearest relations and most intimate friends he used the same awful terms in speaking of royalty as at the Council board or in the palace. More than this, he acted himself, and forced others to act, up to the very letter of their words concerning the claims and perfections of the King. Lord Bacon had declared a king to be a god upon earth. Lord Wentworth acted as though this were true, and really seems to have succeeded in persuading himself that it was a fact. The result was inevitable. Precisely as the sincere worship of idols and false deities leads men into the perpetration of the most outrageous acts of superstition which have no foundation in reason, so did this priesthood built on the divinity of royalty lead Wentworth at last to human sacrifices. There is no other possible key to his life than that, after the Petition of Right, he became a most faithful believer in the doctrine he professed. Had it been otherwise, had he professed his faith merely for the sake of his own profit, he would have

multiplied that profit a thousand-fold. There was no more impossibility in a man of his day completely crossing to the opposite pole of the political opinions he formerly held, and that sincerely, than in a Protestant of great intellect, once zealous in the faith in which he was educated, becoming a stern Roman Catholic in our own.

Both may change without hypocrisy, both rise to the highest dignity in their new career, without that dignity having been the temptation to the change.

The same ignorance he manifested of other men's natures was shown by Lord Wentworth of his own. He really believed himself justified in bitterly complaining to the English Council that he was considered "a severe and an austere, hard-conditioned man, rather, indeed, a Basha of Buda, than the minister of a pious and Christian King. Howbeit, if he were not much mistaken in himself," he said, "it was quite the contrary." With childlike simplicity and vehemence, which must have made it very difficult for the grave assembly to restrain a smile, he asserted that no man could show wherein he had expressed this haughtiness in his nature; no friend he had would charge him with it in his private conversation; no creature had found it in the management of his own private affairs. And if he stood clear in all these respects, it must be confessed by any equal mind that it was not anything within, but the necessity of his Majesty's service which forced him into a seeming strictness outwardly.

And that, he said, was the true cause of the manner that was so repulsive. Where he found a crown, a church, and a people spoiled, he could not imagine how he was to redeem them with gracious smiles and gentle looks. It would cost warmer water than so. It was true, that

1638. where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft and moderate counsels. But where a sovereignty was going down the hill, the nature of a man did so easily slide into the paths of an uncontrolled liberty, that it could not be brought back again without strength, nor forced up the hill otherwise than by vigour force.

True it was, indeed, he knew no other rule to govern by but by reward and punishment. Where he found a person well and entirely set for the service of his royal master, he should lay his hand under his foot and add to his respect and power all he might. But where he found the contrary, he should not dandle the objectionable being in his arms, or soothe him in his untoward humours; but, if he came into his reach, as far as justice and honour would warrant, he would knock him soundly over the knuckles. But only let the culprit become a new man, apply himself as he ought to the government, then he himself also changed his temper, and expressed his approbation by all the good offices he could show.

If this were sharpness, this severity, Lord Wentworth desired to be better instructed by his Majesty and their lordships: for, in truth, it did not seem severity to him. If he were once told that his Majesty liked not thus to be served, he would readily conform himself, and follow the bent and current of his own disposition, which was to be quiet, and not to have debates and disputes with any.

Here the King interrupted him, and told him that this was no severity; if Lord Wentworth served him otherwise, then he would not serve as he, the King, expected him.

Wentworth, somewhat soothed by this, acknowledged

that it was true he had more choler than at all times he was able to temper and govern as he ought. Yet, he trusted, by the time some more cold winters had blown upon it, he should be master of that passion. In the meantime, he promised to watch over it, and hoped to be forgiven for any faults of that kind hitherto, as they had injured none but himself. 1636.

The King again stroked him down, expressing his complete approbation of the past; and the Councillors hastened to utter hopes that the Lord Wentworth should continue what he had so well begun; and all acknowledged the Crown had never been so well served before in Ireland.

Lord Wentworth then bent his knee, kissed the King's hand, and retired from the Council Chamber, in better spirits than he had felt for a long time past.*

He had reason to congratulate himself on his visit to England, on many accounts. His presence rendered many a petition vain, and confirmed many a grant. Thus the jurors who were imprisoned for finding the King's title void in Galway, and had sent a letter to the King, now found themselves simply referred to their first judges. Lord Wilmot discovered it to be the most prudent course to write a letter to Lord Wentworth, offering to compromise matters, and begging his influence with the King to proceed no further in law against his estate.

Then, at Wentworth's request, the duties of which he had complained on coal, horses, and live cattle to Ireland, were taken off. The patent for erecting the Mint, which had hung back, was now confirmed, with licence to erect the needful works, smelting houses, &c. Another order was obtained for the manufacture of

* The Lord Deputy to Sir Christopher Wandesford, ii. 213.

1636. saltpetre in Ireland, with the provision that none was to be sold there, but all to be shipped direct to England and delivered at the office of Ordnance.

Those who had supported and those who had opposed the Lord Deputy were now remembered according to their deserts. Sir Adam Loftus, the faithful Lord Chancellor, who, from the first coming of Wentworth to the present time, had seconded him in all things, was rewarded with a special present of £3000, paid out of the Irish Exchequer. And, as a specimen of the opposite treatment, we may instance David Bourke, who had been as active in opposition. "Bourke," says Wentworth, "you will confine; and so, being divided from his mother and kept out of Connaught, his nails will be sufficiently pared for scratching to any great purpose."

The apparent favour of the King at once brought the chief personages of the Court around the Lord Deputy. They could not sufficiently express their approbation of him, and their desires to do him service. "I had," he said, "great professions from my Lord-Keeper, the Duke, the Marquis, and the Chamberlain. From my Lord Cottington, in a most transcendent way. My Lady of Carlisle never used me with so much respect. I have been very graciously used by the Queen. My Lord of Dunluce is my creature. My Lord of Holland governs himself civilly towards me."

As a natural consequence of all this, Lord Wentworth was regarded with such admiration by all the fair dames of the Court as to fill every rival with anger and dismay. The magnificence that always distinguished him would alone have been enough to captivate them had he been the greatest booby in England. But when to these advantages he chose to play his part, he was

irresistible and very cruel. For while his own heart was as sound and untouched as could be, he thought fit to get a little amusement out of this rare holiday. 1636.

“My Lady of Cærnarvon,” said Lord Conway, “being well in the favour and belief of her father and husband, came with her husband to the Court, and it was determined she should have been all this year in London, her lodgings at the Cockpit. But my Lord Wentworth hath been at Court, and, in the Queen’s withdrawing-room, was a constant looker upon my lady, as if that only were his business. For which cause, as it is thought, my Lord of Cærnarvon went home. And my Lord-Chamberlain preached often of honour and truth. One of the sermons lasted from the beginning to the end of supper. My Lady Cærnarvon is sent down to her husband, and the night before she went, was with her father in his chamber till past twelve, he chiding and she weeping; and when she will return, no man knows. If it be not till her face do secure their jealousy, she had as good stay for ever. Some think that my Lord Wentworth did this rather to do a despite to her father and husband, than for any great love to her.”

The last was probably the true reason. Wentworth was quite capable of a flirtation from such a motive; and while he had a very high respect for those women who deserved it, he was not likely to trouble himself about the feelings of a married woman, who, knowing him to be a married man, allowed her vanity to meet such a flirtation with pleasure.

Fortunately, he had not much time for such amusements. The plague had broken out and driven the Court from the Metropolis, and he had business enough awaiting him in the North to hurry him away. At

1636. — York, he was received with overwhelming acclamations, “almost feasted to death.” But what he most enjoyed was, not public honours and civic banquets, which he regarded as one of the hardest parts of his official labours, but social reunions of his real friends at his own house.

It was now the beginning of autumn, and the contrast between the poverty of Ireland and the plenty that had met his eye, awakened many a wish that he could finally rest for the term of his life in his own land. He had well learned the value of repose, and earlier than most men had realised how heavy is the burden of power.

As his tenants, and retainers, and all the early friends of his youth, crowded around him, as he wandered from corn-field to orchard, from grove to garden, as Nature poured forth her treasures at his feet, he felt, what all at times must feel, how much richer and more innocent is a pastoral life than any other—how mistaken the idea that the mind need stagnate in such scenes. It is certain that so long as he devoted himself to the pursuits of a country gentleman, so long did he remain the friend of liberty. “Sure,” said he, with a sigh, “it much contented me to be amongst my old acquaintances, which I would not leave for any other affection I have, but for that which I both profess and owe to the person of his sacred Majesty. Lord! with what quietness in myself could I live here, in comparison of that noise and labour I meet with elsewhere!—and, I protest, put up more crowns in my purse at the year’s end, too. But we’ll let that pass; for I am not like to enjoy that blessed condition on earth. And, therefore, my resolution is set to endure and struggle with it so long as this crazy body will bear it, and finally drop

into the silent grave, where both all these (which I now could, as I think, innocently delight myself in) and myself are to be forgotten." 1636.

Too late! too late! He had chosen the wrong path; and from the stony heights to which he had so painfully climbed, where with danger he maintained his footing, he looked back on the sweet landscape he had left, and bitterly felt that there was no return.

From Wentworth Woodhouse he wrote to his wife again. Unhappily, very few of these playful domestic letters have been preserved.

To the appreciative eye of Lord Houghton we are indebted for the rescue of the following. It shows that the adoring affection of Lady Wentworth did not blind her to the dangers of her husband's fiery temper:—

*Lord Wentworth to his Wife.**

"SWEET HEART,

"I shall do more for you this morning than I could have done since I was your husband,—write you a letter from Woodhouse, whither now I am come in health, I humbly praise God, and to the abode of my fathers. My business here is much and intricate, yet that doth not affright me; I have begun, and a little pains and patience will set all, I trust, in as good order as can be. Only, like a wise man, I have left all my books of account in one of the trunks within your closet, or else in a trunk that Frank Wetherhide tells me is in my little room within the chamber where I dress myself.

"I pray you, seek for them till you find them, and

* Lord Houghton's Collection, p. 17.

1636. then advise with Carpenter how they may be sent hither with all diligence. This you must intend, as you desire to see me the sooner at Dublin, for till those books come here, am I not to stir; but if I have them within these three weeks, I trust, within a week after, to be onwards home towards Ireland. I desire also that you would take Carpenter unto you and look over all the closet on side of the gallery, and if you find any amongst them concerning Overton, to put them into the trunk with the rest, for I shall need them in making up that account. In any case, order your business so as that the trunk may not linger at the water-side, but be presently sent on hither. Here is the largest abundance of fruit I ever saw, and venison in abundance. We keep excellent cheer, and have passing good wine, and that finds Southworth. Faith! he bangs it soundly.

"God Almighty take us all into His blessed protection, and send me and this company well at Dublin again.

"Your very loving husband,

"WENTWORTH.

"WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE,

"*This 27th of August, 1636.*"

*Lord Wentworth to his Wife.**

"SWEET HEART,

"No sooner had I closed my other letter, but I receive yours of the 26th of the last. Mr. Aldersey hath been here and brought me your letter. As for Sir Edward Loftus, I hear nothing of him; I trust I

* Lord Houghton's Collection, p. 10.

shall be gone before he gets hither, which sorts well, I 1636.
am persuaded, with his desires. Let not it trouble
you with whom I am angry or not angry, for I will
a-warrant you it shall do nobody any great hurt. And,
albeit, I am not apt to believe every man doth not me
wrong who professeth the contrary, yet I will not run
wild presently for all that. In these matters of liking
or not liking, I ever follow, as I apprehend myself, not
the sense or opinion of anybody else.

“If you win my Lady Dillon’s money, you serve
her right enough. On Saturday, my lord, her husband,
wrought himself so out of breath to win a wager of
five pounds, carrying of earth with a wheelbarrow to a
pond-head, as, after the loss of his money, he fell a-
spewing most devoutly, and myself a-laughing most
heartily. This is the life we lead.

“This day seven night I begin my journey. But
to you, in your ear, I am commanded by the K. to
wait upon him at Newmarket, by the way, which will
keep me longer by a week from you than I intended,
and so you are like to have your desire—all the riggs
be past, I trust, before I put to sea. I assure myself
of a hearty welcome from you, and so may you be
most confident I shall be passing glad to see you.

“Your loving husband,

“WENTWORTH.

“*Monday, 3 Octob., 1636.*”

And even here, amidst the scenes of his youth, surrounded by all that could promise a temporary oblivion, the cares of the world followed him. The preface to the battle had begun. For more than two years, the King had levied the tax of ship-money, and, by its

1636. means, immense sums had already been poured into the treasury. The pretext had been the necessity of guarding the coast from the pirates who had so readily retreated from Ireland before the measures of Wentworth. Yet, so impotent had the King proved to guard against the same danger in England, that, notwithstanding the ship-money, at this very time, a Turkish pirate had landed at Plymouth, pillaged the coast, and carried off a number of the inhabitants for slaves. Englishmen were first taken to Rochelle, and then driven overland in chains to Marseilles, where they were embarked and sold as slaves.

This was an event to rouse the indignation of Wentworth to the highest pitch. At once, from his country retreat, he called on the King "to scourge home these miscreants to their dens!" "to hunt these barbarous vermin through the Mediterranean itself to their own doors at Algiers."

The conduct of the French in allowing such an act to take place, if possible, excited him more than the act itself. He pronounced it to be under the sun, the most infamous usage of a Christian King, by him suffered that wears "most Christian in his title," that was ever heard of. If this were passed over, the sovereignty of the narrow seas would become an empty title, and all our trade utterly lost. They ought to be burnt and fired in the French harbours, together with all that opposed the punishment! With what justice or shame could the French patronise these enemies of God and man, to the infinite scandal and annoyance of all their neighbours! Why not join with Spain to make an end of these pirates? Spain would not say "Nay" to such a proposal. In fact, he threw out pretty broad hints as to the wisdom of throwing up a

country that could sanction such deeds as these and making an alliance with Spain, towards which he had had a strong inclination ever since his residence in Ireland. 1636.

But with that inestimable quality of his character that led him never to be content with mere declamation or lamentation over an evil, but always to suggest a definite and practicable remedy, he advised that a dozen small pinnaces, of eighty or a hundred tons, should be built, well manned, and fitted with ordnance expressly cast for the purpose, every attention being given to render them of the utmost advantage for sailing and fighting. These pinnaces were to precede the heavy ships appointed to guard the coast, and, following up the light Moorish rovers, which now escaped a ship-of-war as a greyhound from a spaniel, hold them in combat till the heavier vessels came up.

"For certain," he said, "if the rogues once found we were able with speed of sailing to fetch them up at sea, they would, at next turn, banish themselves from these seas."

Nothing could be more practical and just than this advice. But in Wentworth's position he could not rest here. In the beginning of the present year, the patriots, with Hampden at their head, had refused to pay the ship-money, and the question was still before the law. The King needed every argument on his side, and the want of money to build such vessels to chase the pirates was not to be passed over. Murmurs had been heard in Yorkshire, and the royal mandate was now sent to Lord Wentworth, in his capacity of President of the Council of the North, to enforce the payment of the ship-money in the counties under his jurisdiction. It was hard that the little peace and

1636. popularity he was just then tasting in his own northern home should be disturbed. He had battles enough to fight in Ireland, work enough there to do. And there was a Vice-President of the North. But as Wentworth had retained the higher title, he was forced to fulfil its duties; and in consequence of his efforts to enforce ship-money, a new storm gathered over his head.

More than ever did he feel the need of countenance and support. The more coldly his countrymen looked upon him, the more did he cling to the Sovereign for whom he had forsaken all—sacrificed all. He could not dream that all the smiles with which he had been so lately greeted were hollow, the warm words of approbation nothing but empty compliment. The King knew now, from his own lips, how much he suffered from the sneers of his enemies, who said that the King did not really value him. He had not forgotten the words of his old enemy, Foulis, that “in the North my Lord Wentworth was a very great man, but at Court no more than anyone else.” And now that he had to perform this new and unpopular duty of compelling the ship-money—this shield of the King’s favour, made visible to all the world, would ward off many attacks, and be in itself a consolation.

He therefore once more wrote to the King, repeating his former request. He told him that he had been so successful as to secure all the ship-money due, except £30, and that was now before the court, and would be sure to be paid. He had also so arranged matters as to prevent future contests on this subject after his departure; but this had been bought at a heavy price of pain to himself.

“My carriage,” he said, “on this side hath been

towards all so circumspect and observant, as I well trusted there had not been the least offence or scandal given or taken. Yet, it seems, I have left some great and powerful persons in such a distemper towards me, as, in a manner, everywhere to evince a resolution set for my ruin. 1636

“It is likewise discoursed much to my prejudice, as they think, that my return must be without any mark of your Majesty’s favour, whereby my innocency and just acquittal might be declared to the hearing of others, or myself strengthened or graced in the course of my service.

“Little do I find myself moved with any or all of these. I can smile at their vanity that glorify themselves in being reported the contrivers and procurers of *this imputed coldness and disregard*, nay, esteem them as little powerful as they would be thought almighty in such a case. And, which is far above all the rest, *repose myself and humbly wait upon your Majesty’s gracious promise that I shall receive such a mark of your favour as will silence all their spirits, and set me right again, as well in the opinion of others as for your own service.*

“Yet, where the storm sets so dark upon me, and my absence likely to be of some continuance, I cannot conceal that there are many things upon this occasion which I desire to offer, some for the prosperity of your own affairs, some for my own defence.” *

Wentworth asked Laud, also, to use his influence with the King. He pressed on his consideration the use his enemies were already making of the fact of his having as yet received no promotion in rank, and if he

* Lord Deputy to the King, ii. 27.

1636. were to be sent back to Ireland as he came, their triumph would be complete. For himself, he said, he could be content to be led on in their triumph, and contribute his silence to their glory. But, considering that most of the world were more carried with opinion than reason, with outward seemings than with inward truths, he very much feared this neglect with which it was reported he was to be passed over, would make men more bold towards him, both in England and Ireland, than might consist with the good and speedy dispatch of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland, and stir up a mighty opposition to all the great services now on hand.

At present, he said, all was going smoothly ; but that did not proceed from any spontaneous love to the King, but that they believed his own measures were fully approved by the King, and would therefore be enforced should any opposition be made. The more they believed this, the more it would be for his Majesty's advantage.

Again, if he were not able to prove this approbation by such signs as should be self-visible, there would be a new ground for confidence in carrying over appeals against his orders. And though he was not afraid of any man's complaints, being well assured in himself that the closer the investigations the better for him, yet he was not so in love with accusations and defiances as wantonly to bring their vexations and noise upon himself. He had better objects for his time and attention. And, in addition to other reasons, he had always found that clamours, however unjust, distracted and hindered business. For quarrels and complaints could not be judged without hearing, which consumed much time, and left all business at a stand-still, and every eye gazing.

The affair of Galway had made him many enemies, and, he was convinced, would continue to do so. Persons not well affected to him would sharpen and stir ill humours, and put a prejudice upon him in the service of the Crown. And he did beseech his grace, on these grounds, to move the King that he (Wentworth) might receive some mark of royal favour, and that it might also be conferred upon him in such a way as should render it "comely and public."

This time Wentworth did not name the title he desired, but left it to the judgment of Laud, whether to speak for him in general terms to the King, or to name an earldom at once. He thought, without flattery to himself, that his responsibilities and position merited and needed an earldom.

In any case, he said, he should serve the King with the same diligence, labour, and faith, as ever. But, to confess the truth, if this means of strengthening his authority and dignity in the eyes of the people were denied him, it must needs be with less cheerfulness in his own feelings.

Laud did his best with the King: he set forth the services of Wentworth, such services as the King and Council had acknowledged had never been rendered by any man before, and showed the need of the King's countenance to support him in so difficult a position.

In our own day, when the multitude are said to be so much more enlightened, so much more able to take things at their intrinsic value than ever before, yet we are told, on the highest authority, that the name of a lord carries with it a weight before which the greatest of untitled beings must bend. In the time we are now speaking of, therefore, the arguments of Wentworth and his friend were all the more import-

1636. ant. The more ignorant a people, the less can be spared all outward show in ruling them. And the populace of Ireland were still in the lowest depths.

Charles listened to Laud, but, giving him no definite answer, said that he would do what should sufficiently strengthen Lord Wentworth, and he would himself write to him when he was at leisure.

The petition was a second time refused! Charles was so completely convinced of the truth of Wentworth's words, that, whether his request were granted or refused, he should work with equal faith and diligence, that he saw no need of rewarding what he could have for nothing. For his own service he saw no need of it either. Wentworth had accomplished such marvels without it, that was proof enough of its superfluity. And as to any sentimental sympathy with the fears, or lack of cheerfulness, or any folly of that sort in his good servant, it was too childish to be thought of. So, instead of a title, Lord Wentworth received from the King the following most instructive letter:—

The King to the Lord Deputy.

“ WENTWORTH,

“ Certainly I should be much to blame not to admit so good a servant as you are to speak with me, since I deny it to none that there is not a just exception against. Yet I must freely tell you that the cause of this desire of yours, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your enemies; for if they once find that you apprehend the dark setting of a storm, where I say no, they will make you cease to care for anything in a short while but your fears. And, believe it, the marks of my favours that stop malicious tongues are

neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give
to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants. 1636.
This is not to disparage those favours (for envy flies
most at the fairest mark), but to show their use: to
wit, not to quell envy, but to reward service. It being
truly so when the master, without the servant's impor-
tunity, does it. Otherwise, men judge it more to
proceed from the servant's wit than the master's favour.

"I will end with a rule that may serve for a states-
man, a courtier, or a lover. Never make a defence or
apology before you are accused.

"And so I rest

"Your assured friend,

"CHARLES, R.

"LINDHURST, 3rd Sept., 1636."

Fully to appreciate the writer of this letter, we may
add to it an extract, already quoted, from an epistle of
the King to Wentworth, just three years previously.
It will be remembered that he was recommending some
favourites to Wentworth. But, being doubtful whether
his promises to them might not interfere with his
own interests, he added the following sentence:—

"I recommend them all to you heartily and earnestly,
but so as may agree with the good of my service, and
no otherwise. *Yet so, too, as that I may have thanks,
howsoever; that if there be anything to be denied, you
may do it, and not I.*"

Lord Wentworth *had* given the denials—few, indeed,
were the thanks he received. The refusal of the
graces he had taken on his own shoulders; the grant
of a Parliament went to the King's credit. And all
he wanted was, that, under all the obloquy he was
forced to bear, the King should give proof to the world

1636. that he, at least, did not share its disapproval, that he believed Wentworth to be acting for the best. And this was not to be done by a few lines in private. The lack of delicacy, and regard for feelings he knew to be so sensitive, was marked in the general tone of the letter, but especially by the word *importunity*, as applied to the just request. And the miserable wit, including advice how to behave in love matters, we may be sure met with no respondent laughter and gaiety in the reader to whom it was offered.

“Of all the griefs that harass the distressed,
Sure the most bitter is a scornful jest;
Fate never wounds more deep the generous heart
Than when a blockhead’s insult points the dart.”

What were the feelings of Lord Wentworth on receiving this answer, may, in some measure, be gathered from his reply, in a very noble letter, to the King.

The Lord Deputy to the King.

“May it please your sacred Majesty.

“The letter vouchsafed me from Lindhurst, the third of this present, awakens me, with your gracious favour, to express myself further in some few particulars, lest, perchance, my desires, and the grounds of them, might be conceived otherwise than I meant.

“The dark setting of a storm was not with the least apprehension that your Majesty’s gracious and cheerful favours were either lessened or languishing towards me, but had relation merely to some near your Majesty, who publicly profess my ruin.

“Nor was, or ever can, this, or any other the like storm, be able to affright or shake me from the duties or faith I owe unto your Majesty’s commands. I trust such a poverty of spirit shall not be imputed unto a

mind long since resolved freely to sacrifice a life as often as required for the least of your good pleasures. It is, indeed, altogether impossible I should begin to care less for your service, meanly or at all to weigh my own greatest dangers where your Majesty's smallest interests are concerned, much less, under favour, to care for nothing but my own fears. And yet (I find it) this immovable purpose doth consist well enough with a moderate foresight, so to provide for a safety, as it may be, without your trouble, judging otherwise my being, or well-being, less in value, than that it should cost your Majesty so much as a dispute to preserve me. Whatever your Majesty appoints, shall please me most; it being certainly best for me rather really to live in your gracious good opinion, than only to be thought so by others. Yet, better for your affairs in Ireland, I might seem and appear so to them on that side.

"So, then, whilst I did most confidently trust, through your Majesty's goodness, that I had the best for myself, it will be, I hope, very pardonable if I did desire to better my condition also, as I stood in relation to those affairs, and the greatness of the service now in view amongst them."

We now see where the King most stung him—where it was impossible he should not writhe.

"*As for wit or importunity.* In the former, I did never affect other than a single plainness, nor is my nature possibly to be hardened to the latter.

"Besides, I too well know, and more reverence, your Majesty's wisdom and courage, than (had I been that way inclined) to attempt you by either. And I do most earnestly beseech you, sir, be assured I never went disguisedly forward with you in all my life, nor could I ever yet so far value anything as to prostitute modesty for it."

1636. He made no more requests to the King, but turned painfully to his work. His depressed spirits sought resignation, but not cheerfulness there. He bitterly felt the King's conduct, though he uttered no reproach.

"I have set my hand to the plough," he said to his cousin, "God Almighty direct it in that way which may be most for His service and the King's, and so I may be accepted in my account with Him to salvation, however I be accepted here below to my preferment or content.

"For, in good faith, George, all here below are grown wondrous indifferent. For I look not after the harvest of my own private, but upon that which is to be gathered by the public. This you will say is stoicism—a philosophy antiquated and grown out of fashion agone, and the practice of it, for the most part, an unregarded poverty. This is true, too, I confess. Yet I judge it the best morality and duty of a man in employment, and therefore I practise it. The rather, too, that, thrive it never so ill, I trust I have, by the blessing of God, enough to preserve me from beggary, which is the only ill that accompanies it."

There was not much repose for the remainder of his visit.

As is invariably the case when the welfare of a country is vested in one despotic power, however beneficent be its rule, the moment it is withdrawn danger steps in. For though power may be deputed, it is not in mortals to transfer ability.

Sir Christopher Wandesforde, with every desire and effort to do his best, soon made a terrible blunder. Sir Richard Plumleigh, the Chief Commander of the Coast-guard, was laid up with brain disease, and unable to perform his usual duties in St. George's Channel. Wandes-

forde, instead of instantly sending Sir Beverley New- 1636.
comen, the next most efficient to take his place, -----
despatched him to the Western Coast. Directly Went-
worth heard of it, he foreboded evil, and wrote a
warning to his deputy. It was too late. The pirates,
who were swarming in the English Channel, soon
learned the absence of the Lord Deputy, the illness of
Plumleigh, and the distance of Newcomen. Like birds
of prey, they darted back to the scenes of their former
plunder, and where their knowledge of the coast ren-
dered their work an easy matter. Again St. George's
Channel beheld the blood-red flag waving over the
light rovers that, with incredible swiftness, pounced
upon the helpless merchants, who, unprepared for this
reverse, had brought their riches unguarded, and
carried them into captivity. Lord Wentworth had the
bitter mortification of hearing that the pirates had once
more entered the very harbour of Cork, and carried
away a boat with eight fishermen, giving chase to two
more boats, while the townsmen looked on, utterly
powerless to help. Every prisoner was sold into slavery
in Africa, generally being carried through France and
embarked at Marseilles.

In the contemplation of these outrages, Lord Went-
worth forgot his own personal wrongs. For, though
he was willing and even desirous to reduce his country
under the absolute authority of his own King, there he
stopped, and not the most enlightened advocate of
internal liberty could be more furious at the thought of
foreign dominion, foreign insolence, than he. The
abominable behaviour of the French, in continuing to
allow the Turks to transport the subjects of England
in fetters across their provinces, roused his rage to an
ungovernable height.

1636.

"This," cried he, "this is an oppression to make a wise man mad indeed, that these miscreants should at our doors do us this open dishonour! This great scandal to the State, this infamous misery, fallen upon the subjects of both kingdoms, is made manifest to all Christendom! And a most strange and a most ugly thing it seems to me that these hell hounds should be the whilst received and made much of by the French!

"And—howbeit I do not envy them such a courtship—yet, methinks, they might dispose and hound them elsewhere, more to the satisfaction of their present humour, than to suffer them thus to hunt at large without restraint after us, that either are or conceive ourselves to be in amity with them!"

Rest he would not, until some measures were taken to put a stop to this work. He then pointed out the terrible loss in money that must be the result. Already, it had caused a fall of between seven and eight thousand pounds in the Customs alone, during a few months, and threatened what years could not repay. "If no shame could stir the French, then alone our own kingdom must make these infidels feel, and the rest of the world see, that the King of England had the skill and the power, under the blessing of Almighty God, to protect his dominions and people from the injury of any enemy whatsoever, much more from the base pilferings of this most infamous generation of men." He called upon the Council to be diligent and present in their foresight and remedies. "An evil bleeding so rapidly must be stanch'd fully and speedily, or it would let out the very life of all the trade and commerce of both the kingdoms."

As for the Irish coast, there was little doubt that, on his return to Dublin, Wentworth would soon restore

order ; but how precarious that order must necessarily be, while the English Channel was in its present abandoned state, the late events had shown. 1636.

A second time Wentworth drew up a plan for clearing the seas.

First, a stipulation was to be made with the French Government, by which the French were to guarantee that no Barbary men-of-war, nor Turkish pirates of any kind whatever, should be allowed to enter their harbours. They were also to join the English in making war on such pirates, wherever they found them.

Second, an expedition was to be prepared of four good ships and two pinnaces, to sail to the coast of Barbary, and, capturing all pirates on the way, blockade the port of Salée.

This plan was agreed to, and by the following February the expedition sailed. The African potentates, seeing that the English were in earnest, now began to assume a pacific tone. The King of Morocco and Governor and Bashaw of Algiers volunteered their alliance, and promised their aid in the suppression of piracy.

It is less to be wondered that the few vessels forming the English coastguard should be so inefficient, when the whole navy was in a state of disorganisation. The Earl of Northumberland, who was Admiral of the Fleet, complained bitterly to Wentworth of its condition. He said that he had presented the King in Council with the heads of several abuses in the government of the navy. The abuses were proved, and pronounced unfit to be allowed, and nothing more. Says the Earl :—

“Those that have been faulty may, perhaps, receive

1636. an admonition ; and that, I believe, will be their only punishment. By this course, the King shall still be sure to be cozened, his service prejudiced, and all men discouraged from endeavouring a reformation."

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were greatly displeased with Northumberland for thus going direct to the King, without first appealing to them. But as their neglect had been one cause of the mischief, it was not likely they would act in a reform involving their own condemnation.

Lord Wentworth entirely approved of the course of the Earl, and a sentence from his reply to Northumberland's narrative is worth noting, as showing how strong was his reliance on the eventual support of the King, and how completely he mistook the King's real nature. Northumberland, who saw much more of Charles personally than Wentworth, knew him better ; and, fortunately for himself and his country, knew it in time. Often in later years must the latter part of the following sentence have occurred to him. Speaking of the reform in the navy thus attempted by the Earl, Wentworth says :—

"However, you having gone so far already, my humble advice is, that, in a mild manner, you should follow it to the far end : as I told you, in Sion Gallery, before you bring it to take effect. You must be content to follow—nay, more, to make it your own business, else will it be laid to sleep, and never wake more. We come slowly to a point of execution, but your patience (privately acquaint the King, and take him along with you in every step you set forward) will in fine bring you to your journey's end. *For, in such a case, prosecuted with the King's liking, he will not leave you finally and totally.*"

Just five weeks after this was written, Wentworth received another letter from Northumberland, containing these words:—

“I have formerly acquainted your lordship that, within a few days after your departure from Windsor, I presented to his Majesty the abuses that I had discovered in the government of his navy, which were then justified by divers of good credit before all the lords and the officers of the navy. The King was then pleased to refer the further examination of those complaints unto the Commissioners of the Admiralty, with whom it hath lain dead ever since, and is never likely to revive again.

“The King hath many other occasions to divert him, and I am an ill solicitor of other men’s business, when they themselves will not countenance me in it. The slackness in punishing the offenders hath made them so insolent, that now they justify those facts which hitherto they have tacitly committed.

“This proceeding hath brought me to a resolution not to trouble myself any more with endeavouring a reformation, unless I be commanded to it.”

Each of these men maintained his respective opinion of the real character of the King, and guided his career by it. Each had his reward.

Lord Wentworth now wrote to Dublin, to announce his speedy return, as follows:—

*Lord Wentworth to his Wife.**

“SWEET HEART,

“My letter may be now well of as many lines as the days will be before I be, by God’s help, onwards on

* Lord Houghton’s Collection, p. 19.

1636. my way to Dublin; and yet not trouble you much in the reading neither, for I must tell you it is that already. Besides, I have not any more to say for the present, than that I do very much desire now to be with you, and at rest again, which I cannot say I have been since I was on my journey thence. So, then, I pray you remember me to all the children, to whom I have no time to write. And so I rest,

“Your loving husband,

“WENTWORTH.

“NONSUCH, *this 3rd of November, 1636.*”

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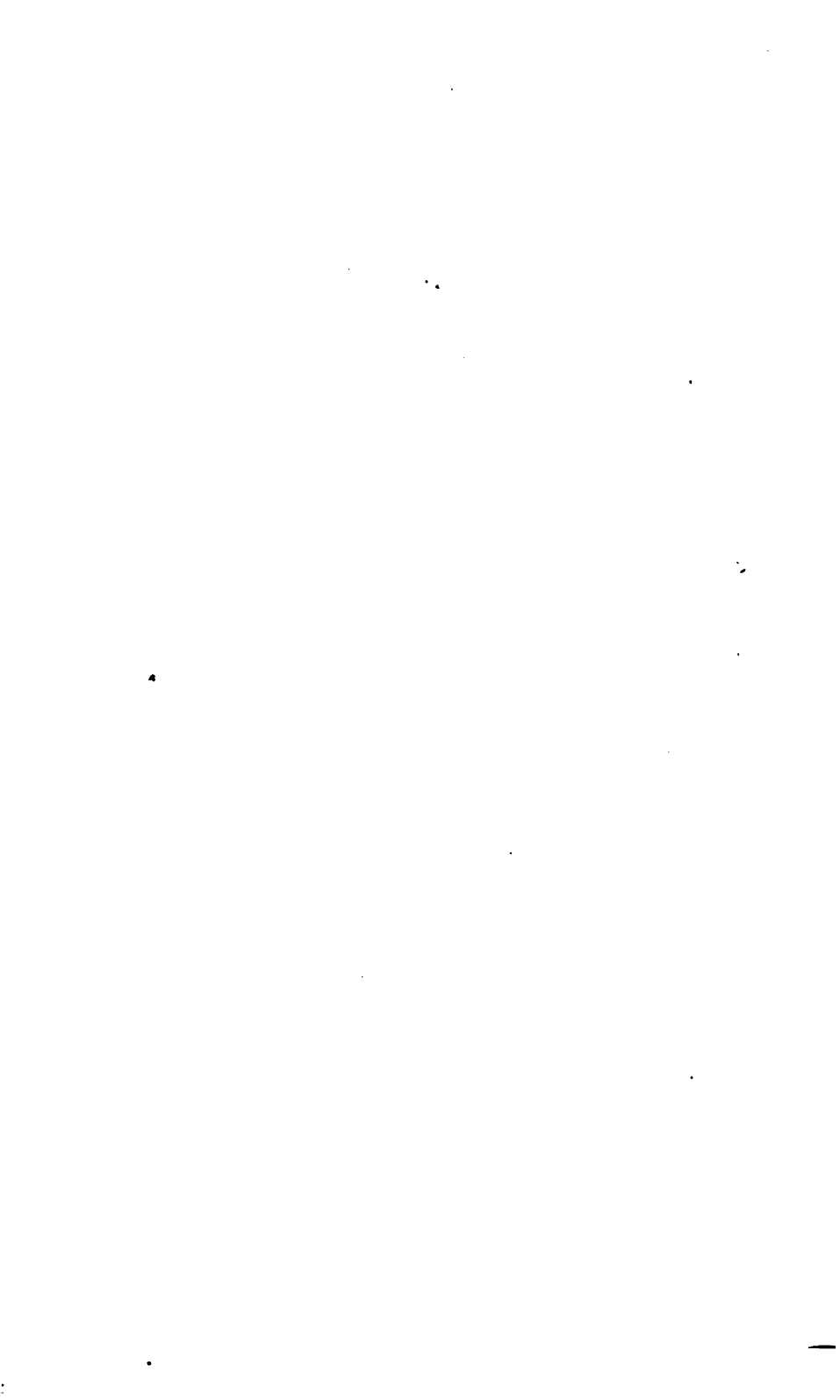
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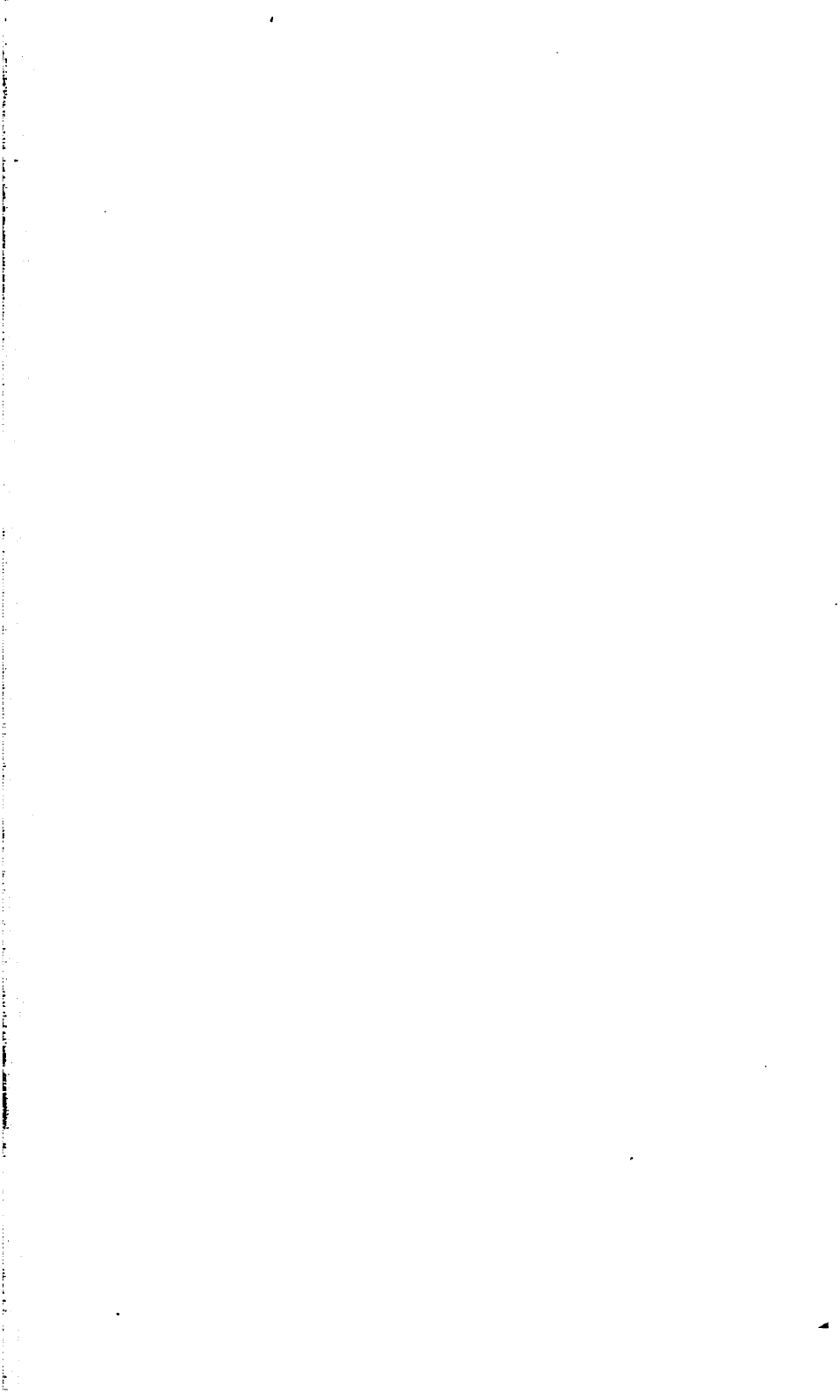
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